Daily Report

East Europe

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Zhelev Criticizes BSP Cabinet Actions

AU2904125995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vigorous action in foreign policy is quite natural for a new government that is nearing the completion of 100 days in power, President Zhelyu Zhelev said in an interview given to the "Conversation with You" program of Bulgarian National Radio in connection with Prime Minister Videnov's visit to Brussels and Strasbourg. A slightly comic aspect of this marathon trip is that it was all carried out in furious haste, before the Consultative Council on National Security convened for its meeting, Zhelyu Zhelev declared, and added the following:

[Begin Zhelev recording] During the last two weeks, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] has felt extremely isolated both at home and internationally, in connection with the Land Act Amendments and the issue of Bulgaria's joining NATO. During the consultations that I held with the parliamentary groups of the Union of Democratic Forces, People's Union, Rights and Freedoms Movement, and Bulgarian Business Bloc, and with all the extraparliamentary democratic parties, such as the DAR [Democratic Alternative for the Republic], New Choice, Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies, and so on, all of them, without exception, described the new Land Act as a neocommunist law aimed at restoring the past and strongly demanded that I return it to the National Assembly. This completely coincided with my own convictions.

In parallel with this, at the consultations I held on the issue of Bulgaria's joining NATO, everyone advocated that we should become a regular member of NATO—in contrast to the BSP, which continues to vacillate and invent all possible conditions, while at the same time it claims that it gives high priority to the Euro-Atlantic structures. [end recording]

According to President Zhelev, very soon, the BSP will be forced to define precisely its position on the issue of NATO membership and state clearly whether or not it agrees that Bulgaria should apply now to join the North Atlantic Alliance. In President Zhelev's view, our membership in NATO is not an abstract issue or a modern whimsy, because we are situated in the Balkans and a military conflict is raging in our immediate vicinity. In the present political configuration, in which we have a BSP government while the Presidency is in the hands of the democratic forces, it is of exceptional importance that all the institutions should work together on foreign policy and national security issues. Regardless of the fact that we hold disparate political and ideological positions, President Zhelev said, we are bound to work together for Bulgaria—but this is not the BSP's policy, he added.

On the crime issue, fundamental steps that President Zhelev declared should be taken to combat the crime problem included confiscating illegally held weapons, banning of security and protection firms that are of a criminal nature, and combating corruption in the police and the state apparatus. In his interview for Bulgarian National Radio, he recalled that one of the priorities of the caretaker cabinet that he appointed was, precisely, the fight against organized crime. The short time that the caretaker cabinet was in power prevented it from completing the job, but according to President Zhelev the present government does not even have a program of its own for dealing with crime in Bulgaria. There is also a lack of initiative in parliament as regards addressing these questions.

I am seriously concerned, and I doubt whether this government will start a real struggle against organized crime, President Zhelev declared, and added that for the time being, he is refraining from making a more specific assessment of the overall work of Zhan Videnov's cabinet, but he promised to do this when the cabinet has completed 100 days in power.

Videnov Pays 'Brief Working Visit' to Romania

AU2804190095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Zhan Videnov paid a brief working visit to Bucharest today. He held talks with Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and was received by President Ion Iliescu. The discussions covered topical issues of bilateral relations, including the construction of a second bridge across the Danube River, the improvement of transport links, and the stimulation of mutual trade. Special attention was paid to the situation in the Balkans.

Following their talks, the Bulgarian and Romanian Government leaders gave a joint news conference. At the moment, Zhan Videnov is on his way back to Bulgaria.

Pavlov on Joining 'Euro-Atlantic Structures'

AU2804175995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgaria will certainly be placed on an equal footing in the Euro-Atlantic structures, but our joining them will not be unconditional, Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov told journalists on his return from Spain.

The Bulgarian public, he said, would not like for our status of a nonnuclear state to be violated, for Bulgarian soldiers to be under the command of non-Bulgarian generals and officers, or for us to accept foreign bases on our territory. According to Minister Pavlov, the issue should be resolved by legislative means. Pavlov noted that Spain's experience, as well as Spain's support in the European structures, are important for our country.

National Assembly Deputy Replaced

95P20749A

[FBIS Media Note] The National Assembly's official organ, DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, published on 18 April

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the decision of the Central Electoral Commission to release Lyubomir Panayotov Kolarov as National Assembly deputy from the eighth electoral district in Dobrich, representing the BSPASEK (Bulgarian Socialist Party, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-Aleksandur Stamboliyski, Ekoglasnost Political Club) coalition. Kolarov, who was appointed chairman of the Postal and Communications Service, was replaced by Elka Kirilova Dimova. According to the election campaign supplement published by the BSP daily DUMA on 25 November 1994, Dimova, who was born in 1952, is a philologist and historian. Like Kolarov, she is a member of the BSP.

Condition of Kozloduy Nuclear Plant 'Very Good'

AU2804154495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 28 Apr 95

[Report by correspondent Veronika Pantaleeva]

[FBIS Translated Text] An international consortium completed its work at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant today. The specialists established that work is in progress at the nuclear plant to improve safety from the technical, organizational, and operational aspects. They found that improvements have been made to the first, third, and fourth nuclear generating units, and assessed that the general condition of the installations is very good.

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Havel on NATO Expansion, Talks With Kuchma

LD3004164895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 30 Apr 95

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Robert Tamchyna in Prague on 30 April—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tamchyna] First, can we go back to your speech at the annual NATO session in Europe? Can you tell us something about reactions to your ideas about the expansion of NATO toward the East?

[Havel] We shall, naturally, still have to wait for the reactions of the politicians. However, I can say that the immediate reactions that I was able to observe were very favorable. I spoke to NATO General Secretary Willy Claes and [names indistinct] and to other commanders and officials. I was surprised at how they liked my speech. [passage omitted]

[Tamchyna] In connection with the expansion of NATO, you were recently asked a slightly provocative question by DER SPIEGEL—whether you were worried about a new Yalta, the possibility of a new power-political division of Europe.

[Havel] I said very clearly in my speech that NATO cannot expand forever and that it is a regional association that cannot change into the United Nations or something like the United Nations. However, it must not turn into an iron curtain. It must become only a border between two cooperating regional groups or between one community and a state that does not belong to the alliance. I could see it clearly when I was in the Pacific area; the world is moving toward setting up big integrated regional units such as ASEAN, APEC [Atlantic Provinces Economic Council] and so on. This has many beneficial features for world cooperation. I think that it must be said clearly at the very outset that should NATO end somewhere that does not mean there would be a new iron curtain.

[Tamchyna] To what extent did Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma agree with your views at your talks this week? I think the issues of European security were on the agenda of the talks.

[Havel] Naturally, we spoke very openly and very extensively not only about the situation in Ukraine and Russia but also about CIS, its distribution of power, its future and the organization of Europe. I would like to stress, in connection with this visit, one thing that our people perhaps do not fully realize: how important Ukraine is. [passage omitted] I think it was extremely important that such extensive and open talks between us and Ukraine took place. We had a better look into each other's way of thinking, and I must say that, on the majority of issues, we agreed: our views are similar. Naturally, on some topics the Ukrainian view is slightly different from ours because its situation is different and it has a different past and different neighbors, but I think that, on the basic issues, we agreed with President Kuchma and it was a good thing that we signed the treaty. It is not something that could have been taken for granted. For example, an analogous treaty between Russia and Ukraine is still not signed, although both sides are members of CIS.

[Tamchyna] On 1 May, German President Herzog is coming to the Czech Republic for a private visit. What does the word "private" mean in connection with the ongoing Czech-German dialogue?

[Havel] When we were discussing the visit with President Herzog, we decided on this form because a state visit demands extensive preparations and a timetable of various visits is important. A new president has to visit the allied countries, the United States, Russia, France, and, in due course, Poland and the Czech Republic. It is not a simple matter. It requires long preparation, and therefore we have decided to make the visit private because it can happen whenever the president and I both have free time. The aim is to continue a dialogue that has recently become important and at the end of which some obstacles in a way of real problem-free cooperation between our countries should be removed. [passage omitted]

Havel Does Not See Russia as NATO Member Soon

BR2804133195 Brussels LE SOIR in French 28 Apr 95 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Vaclav Havel at SHAPE"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech President Vaclav Havel, who arrived in Belgium yesterday, stated that "it would be difficult for Russia to ever become a member of the Atlantic alliance." He was addressing SHAPEX '95, the annual conference of the commanders of the allied forces. The famous writer-president, the first politician from one the former Warsaw Pact member states to address this conference, came to this conclusion at the end of his speech. During his address, he made clear his views on what the new foundation for NATO should look like. The alliance will keep a primary role in "an integrated Europe, without expansionist ambitions, but capable of countering potential threats."

ODS, KDS Officials View Prospects for Merger

AU2804143795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 26 Apr 95 p 3

[Article by Marek Stonis: "ODS, KDS Merger Approaches"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first official talks between Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and Christian Democratic Party [KDS] representatives on the integration of the two parties took place in the Prague seat of Klaus's party yesterday. Present at the meeting were the chairmen, Klaus and Pilip, and the deputy chairmen of the two parties. KDS Deputy Chairman Vaclav Benda

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and ODS Executive Deputy Chairman Libor Novak described the course of the meeting as favorable.

Vaclav Benda admitted after the talks that the KDS will also be discussing integration with another serious partner—i.e., Lux's People's Party. "Nevertheless, we are very serious about the talks with the ODS," he added. According to him, "surprisingly, no tones of disharmony resounded at the meeting."

Several alternative mergers between the ODS and the KDS exist at the current stage of the talks. Novak said that one of them is the organization of a Christian views platform within the ODS, which would be represented in the ODS leadership, election slates, and, possibly, the executive. Asked how his party will react to the possible continuing courtship between the KDS and the People's Party, Novak replied: "That is not how courting is done." Another meeting between the leaders of the two parties should take place, according to Novak, within a few weeks and a definitive decision on a possible integration of the two parties should be made by the beginning of the summer holidays at the latest. The treaty between the party leaderships would have to be subsequently ratified by the ODS and KDS congresses.

ODS spokesman Jana Petrova told LIDOVE NOVINY that the main reason for the ODS wanting to merge with the Christian Democrats is the effort to prevent a waste of right-wing votes. According to Vaclav Benda, every completed integration step is the first one in the long-term process aimed at the integration of nonsocialist democratic forces.

Petrova admitted that opinion on integration with the KDS is not unified at lower levels of the ODS membership. In her view, problems may arise when the slates are discussed for the next parliamentary elections. KDS Deputies' Club Chairman Marek Benda told LIDOVE NOVINY that he did not encounter a mass rejection of the proceedings by the KDS leadership toward an eventual merger with Klaus's party.

Government Decides To Reduce Uranium Mining

AU2904131595 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 27 Apr 95 p 1

[Article by Vera Luptakova: "The Government Has Decided To Immediately Launch the Liquidation of the Hamr Uranium Mine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The key points of the strategic solution to the uranium mining problem adopted by the Czech Government yesterday are an immediate beginning of the liquidation of the Hamr uranium mine, a halt to mining in Straz pod Ralskem within a year, and continued mining in the Dolni Rozinka mine.

"The sums listed in the documents as claims for the reduction and continuation in mining are unacceptably high; therefore, the government asked for their fundamental revision and an adjustment downwards," Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said after the session. Hence, the government did not accept any of the submitted amounts and requested that they be thoroughly checked and verified. The cost of both continued mining and reduction is very close—or even identical. "A reduction in uranium mining is extremely costly," Prime Minister Klaus added. According to the prime minister, an organizational subdivision of the current uranium industry should be completed by the end of June. "We need to make clear-cut financial and other relations within the uranium industry. For these reasons, the present single enterprise will be subdivided so that the future mine will become an independent unit, and the expenditures and revenues are clear-cut," he added.

Another two-year government conceptual decision on how to proceed in uranium mining in the Czech Republic will be made in 1997. Regarding the issue of closing down mines, the prime minister said that it is a technical-organizational problem for the enterprise management and was not discussed by the government.

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Meciar: Mochovce 'No Obstacle' To Joining EU

AU2804142295 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 28 Apr 95 p 4

[Article by Dagmar Schwelle: "Mochovce Is No Obstacle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is convinced that the planned completion of the disputed nuclear power station in Mochovce will be no obstacle to his country's path to Brussels. One must not overestimate the attitude of the European Parliament, which has repeatedly criticized the nuclear project, Meciar told foreign journalists in Bratislava. Recently, Austrian Foreign Minister Mock demanded that the EU's eastward expansion be linked to maximum safety standards in the eastern nuclear power stations. Even though Meciar affirmed that Slovakia is basically willing to consider alternatives to nuclear power, he pointed out that this is not a short-term prospect.

Regarding the currently suspended negotiations with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) about financing the power station, he said that negotiations will continue, but not under the previous conditions. Thus, the demand to close down the two older reactor units in Bohunice at a certain date without consideration for the completion of Mochovce he finds unacceptable. Bohunice can be shut down only after Mochovce has been put into operation, Meciar said.

Advantageous Offers

The prime minister indicated that there are two far more advantageous offers, which are not linked to any conditions. He named Electricite de France (EdF), Siemens, Framatome, and Skoda as companies that would be involved in the completion of Mochovce. However, cooperation with Russian companies is also indispensable, he said.

Meciar expressed surprise that Austria is using double standards regarding nuclear power stations in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Mochovce, which is 120 km from the Austrian border, is, in any case, not a purely Slovak problem but an international one, Meciar stated.

Regarding the basic treaty with Hungary, which is supposed to settle the minority issue, Meciar expressed confidence that the Slovak parliament will accept this treaty. It is trying to persuade the coalition partner, the nationalist Slovak National Party (SNS), which is critical of the treaty, to give its approval.

No Collective Rights

Meciar made it clear that the treaty does not include any collective rights for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, which numbers about 600,000 people. This is set down in the treaty in a completely unambiguous way. The reference to Council of Europe Recommendation 1201 also applies exclusively to individual rights. According to this recommendation, autonomy can be granted only in harmony with national laws, and these laws will not permit autonomy in Slovakia in the future, either. Meciar once again categorically rejected the right to self-determination. It is a politically incorrect calculation. Regarding Slovakia's NATO ambitions, he said that Moscow has not expressed any basic objections in talks to him. However, he showed understanding for Russia's reservations regarding NATO's eastward expansion. He did not yet want to answer the question as to whether, as a NATO member, Slovakia will agree to having nuclear weapons stationed on its territory at some time in the future. This is a matter for negotiations, he said.

Prime Minister Refuses To Devalue Koruna

LD2804163695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During his visit to Zvolen, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar today once again refused to revalue the Slovak koruna on the clearing account with the Czech Republic by 5 percent. He said that the Slovak side would not renounce its advantage unless it gets something in exchange.

According to Meciar, this is among the reasons for postponing his talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus.

Prime Minister on Relations With IMF

LD2804201295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 28 Apr 95

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Lubos Krno on 28 April; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Krno] Yesterday [27 April] evening, Sergej Kozlik, Slovak deputy prime minister and finance minister, announced in Washington that the IMF had accepted the Slovak Government's memorandum on economic policy. What was your reaction to this, and what do you expect from the future development of relations between the Slovak Government and the IMF?

[Meciar] This is a very important decision because anybody else considers the IMF's assessment as the seal of quality and trustworthiness of a country.

Government economic policy has been formed on slightly different parameters from those originally declared in 1994. This is why it is important for us that the IMF has accepted these changed principles. Social policy is also very different because we have declared that we will not increase the average pension age and refused to accept the 1995 loan, saying that, because our economy is developing well, it would be better if the money is used in those countries that are experiencing problems.

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Despite the fact that we do not envisage drawing any loans in the forthcoming period, we will strive to obtain the IMF's trust and cooperation because its international reputation is very high and its assessment is generally accepted by other financial institutions throughout the world.

[Krno] On 25 April, on the television program Press Club, you commented on a very touchy issue. Let me quote: Our situation is not that bad, but we manage poorly what we have.

You also gave quite alarming figures, saying, for instance, that, after last year, the national treasury was short 27 billion Slovak korunas in unclaimed receivables from taxes and custom duties. At the same time, the Slovak Republic has 80 million Slovak korunas in receivables abroad. Moreover, some 100 billion Slovak korunas are involved in the so-called gray market.

In my view, this is an immense amount of capital, which, if in the national treasury, would give us a splendid life-style. Prime Minister, what does the Slovak Government intend to do? What legal measures or measures of criminal law need to be adopted to channel the money where it ought to be?

[Meciar] The figures you give come from the government talks and documents. The debt worth 27 billion is the debt owed by private businesses to the state in taxes and custom duties. At a certain point, government granted these subjects with deferments of their payments or exempted them from paying. It is a huge sum. If we consider that the deficit of the national budget is 21 billion Slovak korunas, we can say that if we managed to retrieve this amount we will be in the black. [passage omitted]

When it comes to relations between Slovakia and foreign countries, these relations involve a debt worth $4 billion, but the active balance of the National Bank of Slovakia is over 4 billion so here we are in the black. We always pay our debts to foreign countries on time, properly, and without delay. [passage omitted]

These will be the priorities of the Slovak Government, which will be expressed in legislation and organizational measures adopted by the Ministry of Finance. We have taken our first step; apart from the minister, nobody has a right to grant an exemption. [passage omitted]

Slota Views Ethnic Hungarian Demands, Treaty

AU2804190395 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 27 Apr 95 pp 1, 7

[Interview with SNS Chairman Jan Slota by Vladimir Misauer in Bratislava; date not given: "We Have Nowhere To Retreat Before the Hungarians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a Komarno rally last weekend, some 6,000 Slovak Hungarians protested against the Slovak Government's ethnic policy. They threatened to resort to "civil disobedience" and even to set up a "nationality parliament." LIDOVE NOVINY asked Slovak National Party [SNS] Chairman Jan Slota for a reaction.

[Misauer] What does your party think about the Komarno rally?

[Slota] It is not just a question of Komarno. There has been a whole chain of escalating demands, of which the Komarno rally is an integral part. I believe that everything is perfectly coordinated from a single center, with the aim of bringing permanent, huge pressure to bear upon the government. I can say on behalf of the SNS as a coalition member that such positions and policies are unacceptable to us because, if we created scope for such pressure actions, it would not have to end well.

[Misauer] The Hungarians are calling for negotiations and an improvement of their present situation. How are you going to react to this?

[Slota] If the Slovak Government has not accommodated the Hungarian community, in that case no government in Europe and no government in the whole world has done so with regard to its minorities. Wherein do they want us to retreat even further? Do they want us to declare the Slovak Republic the "Upper Land of Hungary," which is their final goal? We have nowhere to retreat and will not do so.

[Misauer] In other words, the government should not abandon the project of alternative schooling and its methods of financing culture and the press, which have come under fire?

[Slota] Definitely not because all those who criticize alternative schooling forget that it is conditional on parents' consent. It is not to be imposed by force. Every citizen of Slovakia should and must have a command of the language of the state-forming nation, which clearly is the Slovak language. Once the law on the state language is passed, this will be every citizen's duty. I really do not see any reason for some of our fellow residents not to be able to speak Slovak. It is, after all, truly outrageous when a conscript is unable to accept orders from his commanders because he does not understand them. This is something abnormal that does not exist anywhere in the world, except perhaps in Slovakia.

[Misauer] [Coexistence Chairman] Duray says, however, that alternatives in education exist already inasmuch as parents can send their children to either a Hungarian or a Slovak school. This is why ethnic Hungarians reject the alternative schooling project.

[Slota] Naturally, they reject it because Mr. Duray does not serve and does not want to serve his home country, the Slovak Republic, but is serving someone completely different.

[Misauer] Who?

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[Slota] There are two options. You serve either the Slovak Republic or the other side—you know who. The aims are completely clear, and everything suggests that the program is ready. First, there will be educational and cultural autonomy, then territorial autonomy, and from there it is only a tiny step toward a referendum under the trusteeship of the 12-star banner and Hungarian authorities.

[Misauer] But are you not afraid of an escalation of Slovak-Hungarian relations if there are no negotiations on these issues?

[Slota] Look, we simply have nowhere to retreat. The optimum has already been exhausted [as published], and everything we experience from our Hungarian fellow citizens borders on high treason. I can say this clearly. This is the sovereign Slovak Republic, not a Hungarian state. No one, no one is going to dictate to us in this matter. The Czechs definitely will not say anything, I think, because they settled their problems with a substantially greater minority harshly and uncompromisingly. Who else should say something? The Germans? The Germans do not have any problems because they have assimilated all minorities. All of them. The French? They consider everyone French, whether he is black, white, or yellow. They all are French and must keep their mouths shut and keep on marching. They want to lecture us? They could do so, perhaps, only if they really wanted the situation to come to a head. But I am deeply convinced that all representatives of West European states perceive those disagreements in Slovakia as a certain instrument of the chauvinistic ambitions of some Hungarian political circles, the most destabilizing element in Central Europe.

[Misauer] How do you intend to deal with the situation? Preparatory committees for organizing civil disobedience are to be set up at Hungarian schools by 15 May.

[Slota] My response would be premature because I have not yet discussed this specific matter with the coalition partners. We did discuss this issue in a cursory way, but these discussions have not yielded any specific results. If it were only up to us, the SNS, it would surely be resolved very quickly and by democratic means, but uncompromisingly and unequivocally.

[Misauer] What would such a solution look like?

[Slota] Along the lines of "same rights, same duties." If someone in our country wants to call into question the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic on our sovereign territory, he will be treated in the same way as everywhere in the world.

[Misauer] Which means?

[Slota] The law must simply be enforced.

[Misauer] Will you apply the prepared amendment to the Penal Code, which is, in effect, a substitute for the "law on the protection of the Republic"?

[Slota] Of course, definitely. We compared this amendment to the Penal Code with similar legislative norms in Sweden, France, and Austria. In all of these countries, the provisions are at least twice or three times tougher than the amendment proposed by us.

[Misauer] Will parliament discuss your amendment at its May meeting?

[Slota] No, it seems that it will be discussed at the subsequent meeting, in June.

[Misauer] How do your coalition partners evaluate this amendment?

[Slota] I think their response is positive. They do have some partial reservations; I would be lying if I denied this, but they support it overall.

[Misauer] Will it be passed then?

[Slota] Definitely. Some modifications will be proposed, but the gist of the amendment will definitely remain untouched.

[Misauer] Recently, you said that the basic Slovak-Hungarian treaty would definitely not be ratified under this coalition government. Is this still your conviction?

[Slota] I still stand behind what I said. You see that my words are coming true. Even today some Hungarian parliament deputies invoke the misuse of the goodwill of some Slovak politicians, who, acting in goodwill, signed this treaty. [sentence as published]

[Misauer] In other words, you are sure that Prime Minister Meciar and his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia will not support the ratification of this treaty in parliament?

[Slota] I did not say that. I cannot speak for the prime minister, but I expressed my personal view that the treaty will not be ratified.

[Misauer] Is rejection of the treaty a matter of principle for your party?

[Slota] Yes.

[Misauer] Would you be willing to risk an internal coalition dispute over this issue?

[Slota] Keeping the Slovak Government together is even more a matter of principle. Maintaining political stability is the most important issue. On no account will a single SNS deputy support the treaty, should it, God forbid, get into parliament. And I think that the SNS deputies will not be alone in withholding their support.

[Misauer] Will the voting be secret or public?

[Slota] Should a vote be taken, it will not be secret. We would insist that each deputy stand up and express his opinion in public.

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Meciar Calls Demands 'Delusions'

AU2804153795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 27 Apr 95 p 6

[Article by "mis": "Hungarian Demands Are Allegedly Delusions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said yesterday in an interview with a LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent that the government is not going to respond to the ethnic Hungarian community's rally in Komarno on 22 April. "One does not react to delusions," Meciar said in reference to the demands of the rally, and added that the government's policy is "so favorable and accommodating to all citizens of Slovakia that we are able to wrap up any delusion in a positive initiative." Thus, Vladimir Meciar rejected the rally's demand that the Slovak Government give up its endeavors to introduce alternative education and the liquidation financing of the minority culture and the press. When asked by the correspondent how the government will respond to conceivable civic disobedience or the organization of a national parliament, which the Komarno rally threatened, Meciar answered that 600,000 Hungarians live in Slovakia, and only 6,000 of them were in Komarno. "As long as there are not 600,000 of them, we are not going to get nervous. It is emotional rather than rational," the Slovak prime minister said.

Slovak Radio's Hungarian Chief on Situation

LD2804164695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Hungarian radio's evening news program on 26 April, there was an item on the situation in the Hungarian service of Slovak radio. The correspondent said that measures to be introduced in the Hungarian-language service are reminiscent of the darkest period of communism. Alexander Pap, editor in chief of Slovak radio's Hungarian section, requested an opportunity to react to this report on "Radiozurnal."

[Begin Pap recording] To avoid unnecessary misunderstandings, I must state above all that Slovak radio's Hungarian service is not threatened by any external or internal pressure. As I said in my statement yesterday, all of the conditions are guaranteed for us to broadcast our programs in accordance with the principles of editorially independent public service radio.

In comparison with other foreign Hungarian nationality stations, our legal, organizational, financial, and technical conditions are ideal. That is precisely why we are organizing an international gathering at the end of May, bringing together leading representatives of Hungarian nationality radio stations operating in Central Europe. At that meeting, we want to demonstrate the full range of resources, which, as I have already said, match our requirements.

This year we have again received a state subsidy, which is a further contribution to improving the standard of our cultural, religious, and youth programs. Any problems that arise we solve independently or with the help of the management of Slovak radio. I, therefore, in contradiction of the report broadcast on Hungarian radio's Kossuth Radio network, consider our future programming activity to be secure. [end recording]

New Slovak Labor Party Founder Outlines Aims

AU2804115795 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Apr 95 p 2

[TASR report: "M. Kocnar: The SSP Wants To Deliver What the ZRS Promised"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Miroslav Kocnar, a former member of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] Deputies' Club in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, is one of the initiators of the founding of a new political entity, the Slovak Labor Party [SSP]. He said in an interview for TASR that the new party's main credo will be: "The SSP wants to deliver what the ZRS promised." According to him, they will, at all costs, emphasize the workers' interests and talk about their right to a decent life and will support the citizens' right to an education, free health care, and affordable housing. In no way will they commit themselves to a coalition with any political party because they have seen "the kind of bear hug the ZRS, which has lost its own identity, was in." They will support the governing coalition, but, in issues that have a direct impact on the workers, they will react the way the ZRS said it would in the past—they will act autonomously.

GS Chief Discusses Military Doctrine, Service

AU2804190195 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 27 Apr 95 p 11

[Interview with Colonel General Jozef Tuchyna, chief of the Slovak Army General Staff, by Marian Dudinsky; place and date not given: "Slovakia's National Interests Are the Priority"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The second call-up date this year for draftees to Slovak Army units fell at the beginning of April. While 5,700 recruits entered basic military service in January, there were almost 7,800 of them this month. Some of the newcomers went into the Defense Ministry's logistics battalion, some went into the Interior Ministry's units, and others went into the Ministry of Transportation and Communications' railroad forces. We took the opportunity to interview Colonel General Jozef Tuchynz, chief of the General Staff (GS), on these and other topical issues concerning the Slovak Army.

[Dudinsky] As is known, the Slovak Republic sets out the principles for its defense policy in its Defense Doctrine, which proceeds from the fact that, at the moment, it is not under an immediate threat. Despite this, it reserves

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the right and capability to defend itself against a possible military and nonmilitary threat. What does this Defense Doctrine envisage?

[Tuchyna] The defense measures respect fully the basic international documents. We do not require greater security rights and guarantees than other states. We declare that we will not initiate any military conflict and that we do not and will not have weapons of mass destruction. Defense has to be balanced with our economic, political, social, and demographic potential. The commensurate size of our armed forces takes into consideration the fact that defense begins on our state border and that, within its framework, we will adhere to the limits on the number of personnel and amount of equipment agreed upon in Vienna.

Therefore, the population's compulsory conscription, established on an all-civic basis, is being maintained for the future. This is a matter of personal honor for every citizen. At the same time, we are emphasizing our interest in admission into NATO and the Western European Union and, until that happens, we want to cooperate actively within the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the "Partnership for Peace" program. If I had to sum it up, the basic principle of the Slovak Republic's defense doctrine is to promote Slovakia's national interests, which include, in particular, guaranteeing its territorial integrity and the inviolability and unchangeability of our state border.

[Dudinsky] On the basis of the above, it is clear that our army has to go through several development phases...

[Tuchyna] These phases include reducing the number of weapons and personnel, the army's overall transformation, and building new command structures. Making the Slovak Army's current structures functional and completing its material base should also be part of this. The comprehensive modernization of the army is envisaged around the year 2000.

[Dudinsky] The Slovak Army Command was turned into the Slovak Army General Staff on 1 September last year. Two months later, you established three army corps. What kind of changes will be made this year?

[Tuchyna] The regiments will be reorganized into brigades in 1995. These and other planned changes are associated with the Slovak Republic's declared interest in admission into NATO. My visits to the United States and Germany and my talks with NATO officials have been oriented, especially, toward more extensive cooperation between the Visegrad Four states and the North Atlantic community and toward closer relations in implementing the "Partnership for Peace" program. However, it is necessary to realize—and the CSCE conference in Budapest also confirmed this—that this process will not be speedy or problem free.

[Dudinsky] In the future, the Slovak Army will have a more simplified organizational structure. Does this perhaps also mean a further reduction in basic military service?

[Tuchyna] As of 15 November this year, our army should have 46,667 soldiers in active service; 478 tanks; 683 combat vehicles, of these, 476 infantry combat vehicles; 383 100-mm caliber cannon, howitzers, and rocket and mortar launchers; 115 combat aircraft; and 25 combat helicopters. Last December, we drafted an option for our army with 35,000 personnel. I reject, however, any conjectures and speculation about reducing basic military service further.

[Dudinsky] Entering into basic military service, however, intervenes considerably in the way of life of the young male population. Are you interested in the opinions and stances held by the recruits coming into the combat units?

[Tuchyna] First and foremost, it is necessary to emphasize that the entire conscript-age population does not enter into basic military service, but only part of it. Understandably, the command corps is interested in the kind of resolve the draftees embarking on their honorable civic duty have. For this purpose, during the course of basic training, the staff in the sociopsychological services ascertain the stances that could also provide an answer to your questions. For example, in surveys conducted on all four of the call-up dates last year, the views on army service were positive or almost positive within a range of 36-44 percent of the draftees. Six to 10 percent of the draftees said that they want to fulfill all of their military duties responsibly and conscientiously; some 85-88 percent of them said that they are not exactly enthusiastic about undergoing basic military service, but that they will fulfill their military service tasks in accordance with their abilities...

[Dudinsky] Do you know what bothers the recruits the most?

[Tuchyna] Recruits consider being away from home, the military regime, the great physical and psychological burden, and also the inappropriate behavior of noncommissioned officers, instructors, and even officers to be the most major difficulty. The issue of the violation of the soldiers' protected rights and interests—so-called hazing—comes up very frequently among the public. Almost 50 percent of the soldiers in basic military service denounce hazing and want to do something about it; of the rest, 30-38 percent, admittedly, denounce hazing, but do not intend to do anything about it! I emphasize, however, that this only involves a verbal expression of attitudes toward the army, but it may be different in the fulfillment of specific exercise tasks.

[Dudinsky] Last October, you issued an order on the use of the state language in official contacts within the Slovak Army. According to it, it was the duty of your subordinates to perfect their knowledge of Slovak before the end of last year so that this order could be put into practice thoroughly as of 1 January 1995. Are there any problems with this?

[Tuchyna] I emphasized at a meeting of General Staff members on 2 January this year that those serving in our

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army are obliged to use exclusively the Slovak language, as the state language, in official contacts. If anyone could not reconcile himself to this, he would have to leave the Slovak Army. A soldier or civilian working in the army who does not want to obey orders, regulations, and laws is not fit to carry out his duties. The use of the state language among certain soldiers in basic service in particular will, obviously, be a problem here.

[Dudinsky] Does our army have any traditions in patriotic training?

[Tuchyna] Training in the spirit of national consciousness is one of the important elements of patriotic and moral development and is an indelible part of the system for preparing Slovak Army troops. For this reasor, in the guidelines for this exercise year, we made provision for the development of spiritual culture with emphasis on cultivating national pride and army traditions. And, we have something to follow up on. Slovak soldiers, in more ancient and in modern history, have taken part in almost all the important military conflicts, while, during World War II, they fought on almost all of its battle fronts. In order to raise national and military consciousness, we have invited not only members of the staffs of all ranks, but also teachers from the Military Historical Institute and the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation], clergymen, and lecturers from regional educational and cultural institutions to cooperate with the army.

[Dudinsky] The attitude toward military service has been built on completely new foundations. The establishment of the sovereign state has placed new demands on the army, but also some problems...

[Tuchyna] Reducing basic military service from 24 to 12 months has made increased demands on the entire command corps in implementing their designated tasks. Our mission is to resolve, sensitively and with understanding, the soldiers' personal difficulties and to create a proper environment for them in the military units. Unfortunately, it is paradoxical that those who fulfill their honorable duty in preparing to defend their homeland often live in far worse conditions than citizens serving a sentence in corrective-training facilities. A lack of funds restricts us in various ways. We have to realize, however, that, under our specific conditions, democratization is defined mainly by the basic codes and laws specifying army activity....

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Japanese Foreign Minister Arrives for 3-Day Visit

OW3004234195 Tokyo KYODO in English 2305 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, May 1 KYODO—Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono arrived by chartered plane Sunday [30 April] for a three-day visit to Hungary on the second and final leg of a five-day swing through the Balkan Peninsula.

During his stay in Budapest through Tuesday, Kono is scheduled to confer with Hungarian leaders, including Prime Minister Gyula Horn, his aides said.

Kono will also meet in the Hungarian capital with his Yugoslav and Macedonian counterparts to discuss ways of ending the three-year conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovia, which he visited last week.

Kono, Kovacs Urge Mutual Recognition in Bosnia

OW0105003995 Tokyo KYODO in English 0019 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, May 1 KYODO—Japan and Hungary agreed Sunday [30 April] on the need for mutual recognition by former Yugoslav Republics as an initial step toward resolving the three-year-old conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The accord was reached during a meeting in Budapest between Japanese and Hungarian Foreign Ministers Yohei Kono and Laszlo Kovacs, Japanese officials said.

Bosnia declared independence in March 1992, with the United States and the European Union (then the European Community) recognizing it the following month.

But the new Yugoslavia, which includes Serbia and Montenegro, has refused to recognize Bosnia, where Serb nationalists are fighting Bosnian Government and Croat forces.

Kovacs expressed hope for increased Japanese investment in Hungary and greater bilateral trade, and voiced support for Japan's bid to win permanent membership in the UN Security Council, the officials said.

Kono pledged efforts to encourage Japanese businesses to trade with Hungary, they said.

Kono arrived in Budapest by chartered plane earlier Sunday for a three-day visit to Hungary after visiting Croatia for two days.

During his stay in Budapest through Tuesday, Kono is scheduled to confer with his Yugoslav and Macedonian counterparts to discuss ways of ending the Bosnian Civil War.

Kono visited Croatia last week for talks with local leaders and the head of a UN Peacekeeping Mission in Bosnia, Yasushi Akashi, a Japanese national.

Israeli-Hungarian Satellite Project Approved

TA3004101395 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 30 Apr 95 p 5

[Report by Andras Peshti]

[FBIS Translated Text] Over the weekend, the Hungarian Government approved an agreement for the coproduction of an Israeli-Hungarian satellite.

Production will be carried out by Israeli Aircraft Industries and Antennae Hungary [name as transliterated].

According to the plan, the satellite will be completed in 1998 and will have 16 broadcasting channels. The Hungarian Government will rent out four of the channels for $2.7 million per channel.

Hungary stresses that Ceres and 'Amos will be interchangeable because they are compatible, but they cannot compete with each other.

Federation of Young Democrats Changes Name

LD2904215095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The congress of the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] has adopted the party's program declaration and also decided on a new name for the party. Attila Kert reports:

[Kert] The new name is Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party [Fidesz-Magyar Polgari Part]. [passage omitted]

Fidesz-MPP Congress Reelects Current Chairman

LD3004133195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The congress of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [Fidesz-MPP] has reelected its current chairman. Gyoergyi Nemeth and Attila Kert report:

[Nemeth] Viktor Orban has been reelected chairman. Only 27 voted against him. [passage omitted]

[Kert] The Fidesz-MPP has moved into adulthood, Orban said in his subsequent acceptance speech. By adding Hungarian Civic Party to its name, the party sent a message to its middle-aged and older supporters that it is also relying on them.

Orban also criticized the government for having foisted unbearable burdens on the shoulders of the young, instead of demonstrating social sensitivity. [passage omitted]

Orban asked everybody in local government to endeavor to cooperate with other right-of-center parties, even the Smallholders' Party, but he said that cooperation with the Smallholders on the national level was untimely for the time being.

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[Nemeth] Organ also considered it important to strengthen the Fidesz-MPP's organizations, the expansion of its experts, and the widening of its support among the intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

Republic Party Seeking To Become Widely Known

LD2904193595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The delegates' assembly of the Republic Party has urged the party to make itself better known. Karoly Levai reports.

[Levai] Our most important task is to make the Republic Party, its program, and its leading figures more widely known. This was stated by Janos Palotas, who was unanimously reelected chairman. Palotas said that despite the professional party program, which could have led the country out of the crisis, only 40 percent of potential voters have heard of the party, in contrast to the parliamentary parties that are recognized by 90 percent of the electorate. [passage omitted]

Romanian Outrage Over Proposal No. 1202

AU2804173095 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 28 Apr 95 p 9

[Editorial by Andrej Kiss: "Bucharest's Agonies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian leadership is suffering terrible agonies. They feel cheated and humiliated—at least this is what it seems from the strong reactions following the confirmation of Proposal No. 1201 in Strasbourg. President Iliescu and the progovernment press became so infuriated with the decision of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly that one fears that they will cause harm to themselves and their country. The unparalleled rude style of openly pointing a finger at everyone might cause Romania a lot of damage. The president and his entourage speak about everything, but somehow they do not dare to say the essential thing: namely, that Bucharest has always had a penchant for keeping alive the danger of losing Transylvania. Therefore, both in a hidden form and openly, fostering anti-Hungarian feelings has always played a top role in Romanian domestic policy. Playing the Hungarian card has had its role in the most varied ages. In accordance with the good old Central East European customs, the prevailing Hungarian ruling class repeatedly helped them in this endeavor.

Ceausescu and his predecessors had their energy invested in anti-Hungarian feelings several times back. All signs show that it is Iliescu, now, who would like to profit from nationalist feelings.

Although many people failed to realize it, the few centuries we have spent together already belong to the category of the historical past. And the present requires something that differs radically from the customary. However, Bucharest still finds it difficult to accept that Hungary is really willing to recognize the inviolability of borders. Rather than realistically face the facts, it is simpler to keep repeating the old accusations and attack Proposal No. 1201, which gives a very broad interpretation of the national minority rights.

The time will definitely come when, together with the Transylvania that they worry about so much, Romania will become part of the united Europe, a Europe without internal borders. Moreover, it is also certain that, despite all kinds of people like [Cluj mayor] Funar, the Hungarians living in Romania will once again be able to feel at home there without curtailing the rights of any Romanian.

A part of the opposition in Romania is trying to prove that there is nothing threatening in Proposal No. 1201, but they do not seem to succeeding in this endeavor. This proposal is so general that, in addition to Romania, it obliges every country in Europe, including Hungary, to take certain steps, for example to have more schools for national minorities and to solve the political representation of the national minorities in everyday practice. If Bucharest were really interested in the fate of Romanians living in Hungary, it should be happy about this proposal. Instead, as so many times before, the Hungarians in Romania are again the target, and not quite in a European way.

Researcher Explains Hostility to Economic Measures

AU2931344 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 March 95 p 3

[Interview with Gyorgy Istvan Toth, deputy director of the Social Research Information Processing Association, by "K.J."; place and date not given: "The Majority of the Poorest People's Income Comes From the State—Who Are the Needy?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One reason the government's planned thrift measures were received with so much hostility in Hungary is that the proportion of social welfare in the total income of families is very high. In other words, for many families the state budget and social insurance provide more than the employer does. Many people would find it difficult to survive without social welfare.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What does the household panel survey of the Social Research Information Processing Association (TARKI) say about this?

[Toth] In 1994, half of the average income came from private and half from social sources. If we classify earners in 10 income groups, then, naturally, people in the highest tenth are least affected by the cuts in social benefits because 70 percent of their income is from private sources, while this figure is 20 percent in the lowest tenth. We can say that the proportion of social welfare increases with the decrease of total income.

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[MAGYAR NEMZET] It seems that we have become a "country of the needy." Did the impoverishment continue in 1994?

[Toth] It did, and today every third person lives below subsistence level. It is well known that Gypsies, young married couples, broken families, large families, and single pensioners are the poorest. It is a paradox that while we spend so much on family support, families with many children are in need. This also shows that the distribution system is at fault.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Together with Rudolf Andorka and Anna Kondratas, you have prepared a study for the International Blue Ribbon Committee, which also includes world-famous scientists. This committee has expressed support for the reform of the welfare system. Did you have the same ideas as the government's plans?

[Toth] We did as regards the main directions, but we wanted to make the family supports targeted, and not necessarily dependent on income.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] The principle of need also means targeting.

[Toth] This is true, but this principle can be implemented in more than one way. I also join those who suggest taxing the family supplement. This would involve much less administration and fewer inaccurate income certificates that need to be renewed every year—not to mention the fact that income certificates alone do not reflect the real financial situation of families.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] In your estimate, how wide-ranging will the restriction be?

[Toth] In 1994, when they wanted to apportion the increase of the family supplement according to need, more than 80 percent of the previously entitled people again proved to be entitled. If only those families where per capita income is below 15,000 forints per month are going to receive this and the child care allowance [GYES], then not many people will have to forego these welfare payments.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Awarding the family supplement and the GYES on the basis of need would not bring much revenue. This is also proved by the Central Statistical Office's latest report, according to which average net income was 23,000 forints per month. If we look at an average family with two children—where, in a lucky case, both parents have a job—then each family member has 11,500 forints.

[Toth] Setting an earnings limit also encourages people to limit their performance. An unemployed person would rather remain on welfare than find a job if he will lose more than he gains by taking a job.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What does the targeted benefit mean?

[Toth] It means, for example, that large families would receive more, since per capita income is lower in their case anyway.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Those who defend the government's package claim that the needy would welcome the measures. They hope they would get what is taken away from others. However, this is unlikely because then there would not be any saving. Is it possible, then, that the only advantage they will have is that their family support will not be taken away?

[Toth] I agree with the austerity measures. I dispute only the viewpoints and methods of distribution. I do not know the calculations the package is based on; therefore, I do not know how much the government will redistribute from the savings, and to what extent it can thus curb the rapid impoverishment.

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Leftist Leaders Take Part in May Day March

LD0105111695 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Approximately 2,000 people took part in a May Day march in Warsaw organized by the OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance]. Apart from OPZZ members, the march was attended by representatives of the SDRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic], organizations affiliated with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], and the PPS [Polish Socialist Party]. The march was led by leaders of the Left—SLD Leader Aleksander Kwasniewski, Health Minister Jacek Zochowski, and Deputy Longin Pastusiak. There were slogans against the ratification of the Concordat and for a modern constitution on banners carried by the demonstrators.

Outside Holy Cross Church, a dozen or so people welcomed the demonstration, shouting "Down with the commies!" and "Thieves!"

SDRP Leader Aleksander Kwasniewski said there is a place for every honest citizen in a state governed by the left. He also stressed that his party has come out for a clear separation of church and state. We are for separating what is Caesar's and what is God's, Aleksander Kwasniewski said.

There were some disturbances at the Nike monument, where the march ended. Police used truncheons to disperse a counterdemonstration organized by the Independent Union of Students [NSZ]. The students waited there for the OPZZ May Day march. According to a Polish Radio reporter, several journalists suffered as well during scuffles between the police and the students.

Anarchists Scuffle With Police

LD0105114695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1048 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 1 May—Bottles and stones have been thrown at police, intervening at the Bankowy Place in Warsaw during a demonstration by anarchists. Several hundred young people gathered at the Bankowy Place, and it seemed that on May Day they wanted to protest against fascism and violence.

Police intervened when the anarchists attempted to leave Bankowy Place in great numbers.

Foreign Minister Bartoszewski Speaks on VE Day

AU2804201695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Munich ARD Television Network in German at 1000 GMT on 28 April carries a two-hour live relay from the Bundestag in Bonn of a joint meeting of the Bundestag and Bundesrat marking the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. After a live performance of Jewish clarinet music, speeches are delivered by Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth, Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, and Bundesrat President Johannes Rau.

Opening the session, Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth welcomes Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, who has been invited by the Bundestag to deliver an address on this occasion, and other guests, including Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Federal President Roman Herzog, and Bundesrat President Johannes Rau. Suessmuth thanks Bartoszewski for coming to the meeting and for his activity aimed at understanding and reconciliation between the two nations. Suessmuth emphasizes that the invitation must be seen as an "invitation by the German people to the Polish people."

Suessmuth says that "50 years after the end of World War II, Germany and Poland are shaping a partnership that would have been inconceivable only a few years ago."

Polish Foreign Minister Bartoszewski then takes the floor, beginning his address with a statement in Polish—"for Polish television," he explains.

Bartoszewski then notes that it is now 50 years since the "bloodiest" war in Europe ended, a war that "started with the German aggression on Poland." Hundreds of thousands of Poles fought during this war to "restore their free and sovereign state in a free and democratic Europe."

Bartoszewski recalls the changes that have taken place since 1989 and brings to mind the role played by Solidarity in Poland and by other movements in the former East bloc. He points to the reconciliatory words of the Polish bishops in 1965, former German Chancellor Willy Brandt's visit to the Warsaw Ghetto in 1970, Lech Walesa's invitation to Herzog to Warsaw in 1994.

Bartoszewski says that it is "high time" to use all political chances resulting from the changes of 1989. He notes that "the legal-political settlement of the problem of German unification and of its borders has made it possible to talk about the lost home without provoking fears about peace in Europe. Poland has regained its political sovereignty. It is also acquiring its intellectual sovereignty. The yardstick for it is the feeling of moral responsibility for all of history, which has, as always, bright sides and dark sides. As a nation that has been particularly badly affected by the war, we have experienced the tragedy of forced resettlement, including the acts of violence and crime related with it. We do not forget that this also affected innumerable people of the German nation and that those who did wrong were also Poles. I would like to be quite frank and say that we are sorry about the individual fate and the suffering of innocent Germans who were affected by the consequences of the war and who lost their homes."

Foreign Minister Bartoszewski them emphasizes the importance of Polish-German contacts beginning in the

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1960's at the level of churches and youth organizations. He says that the treaty confirming the border between Germany and Poland, which was signed in 1990, and the treaty on good-neighborly relations and cooperation in 1991 constitute "the conclusion" of the tragic era of Polish-German relations and paved the way for a new relationship "within the framework of the joint European system." Bartoszewski says that "in my view, the term 'Europe' cannot be restricted to the purely geographical term. In the history of peoples and countries of this continent, this term has acquired a cultural meaning. It has become a collective symbol of fundamental values and principles. Europe—this means primarily individual freedom, human rights—political and economic ones; it is a democratic system based on the citizens; it means the law-governed state; it means efficient economy based on individual business initiative. At the same time, it means reflection about the people's fate and the moral order that has its source in the Jewish-Christian tradition and the imperishable beauty of culture. A Europe following this interpretation has not always been identical with the geographical Europe." He says that today, far away places on other continents such as "the United States, Canada, and Australia" are among the "heirs of European civilization." "European society is an open society. Europe does not relegate any people from its community and does not isolate them. People who belong to the geographical Europe can only isolate themselves from the community of European civilization, as the totalitarian countries the Soviet Union and Hitlerite Germany did a few decades ago. However, the Germany of today, this democratic constitutional state, proves that a return to this community is not only possible but that one can even assume a good place in it. Deeply democratized Germany has returned to its constructive role in European history and civilization and today constitutes a main pillar in the Europe of today. This is how the Poles see the Germany of today. And in this Polish confidence, in the democratic country, and in the German people lies the secret of rapid establishment of good-neighborly relations between the FRG and the now independent Poland."

Bartoszewski states that Poland is seeking EU membership because "it declares solidarity with its fundamental goals." Poland, he explains, is committed to "creating foundations for the increasingly closer integration of the peoples of Europe" in order to "preserve and consolidate peace and security." Poland, he explains, wants to participate in this process because it "shares the ideals" of the EU.

Commenting on the joint history of the Germans and Poles, Bartoszewski says that it has been "difficult." He notes that the two countries "have to make up the time that has been lost through hostility and war." The Polish foreign minister asserts that this is what he deems to be his main task in relations with Germany. Describing his own experiences as a prisoner under Nazi and communist dictatorships, Bartoszewski says that he wishes to appeal for "swift action to be taken to use the enormous opportunities that our two peoples have to move closer together, to harmonize political interests, and pursue mutually advantageous economic cooperation."

Bartoszewski then goes on to examine the issues involved in overcoming the division of Europe following the fall of communism. He says for this process to be successful, it has to fulfill certain basic conditions: "It must be based on the lasting foundations of common European values. The acceptance of these values, above all, is the very question that should determine the membership of Europe and its institutions, which have a decisive impact on defining Europe's identity."

Poland's foreign minister points to the commitment to reform displayed by the peoples of the former East bloc and states: "Progress in the field of reform in the postcommunist states should be closely linked to an appropriate level of intensity in the integration process vis-a-vis these states." He then says: "What we want to see our Western partners, including Germany, demonstrate is a clear will to open and expand European as well as Euro-Atlantic institutions. We hope that a narrow, in quotation marks, realism will not prevail in the West in the sense of spheres of influence, buffer zones, or the recognition of historic interests of neighboring great powers, which celebrated triumphs at Yalta."

Bartoszewski concludes that the "integration process geared toward the east will not be halted. We want neither new nor old divisions of Europe. We want constant progress in the European unification process, in which Germany's recent unification represents a special stage. The pro-Western orientation of Polish policy in no way means turning away from the east. The Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Belarus are and will remain our important neighbors. Poland's efforts to acquire membership in Euro-Atlantic structures does not mean neglecting instruments for creating solidarity among and security for all the peoples on our continent. Poland's commitment to the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe is the best proof of that."

Bartoszewski then praises cooperation between France, Germany, and Poland "within the framework of the so-called Weimar triangle. This special form of cooperation between EU states and a state that belonged to the former sphere of Soviet influence is a symbol of reconciliation between three great European peoples. The territory on which the great European wars were fought is being transformed into a pillar of security for the continent."

The Polish foreign minister then turns his attention to the way in which the question of the rights of ethnic minorities has been resolved within the framework of Polish-German relations. He says that "enormous progress" has been achieved in settling this issue and that the legal and other measures adopted in both countries are a "model" for the rest of the world.

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Bartoszewski states that "today, there are no fundamental issues over which there is disagreement in Polish-German relations," which "are stable and largely independent of political indecision and political upheavals."

After making a statement in Polish for Polish television, Bartoszewski concludes his address by saying that cooperation between Germany and Poland "within a united Europe is one of the main goals and reasons underlying our bilateral relations."

Bundesrat President Johannes Rau then takes the floor and expresses thanks to Foreign Minister Bartoszewski for his address and voices admiration for his accomplishments as a great humanist and historian. In his speech, Rau stresses that a clear majority of Germans consider 8 May to be "a day of liberation" for the German nation.

Walesa To Form New Political Party

LD3004183295 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Apr 95

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Lech Walesa has announced he would form a new political party that would become a counterbalance to the existing government coalition. Despite expectations, he did not officially declare his participation in the presidential campaign. The president said that as of today he would be touring Poland, and only after his meetings with the electorate would he make a final decision. [passage omitted]

Oleksy Explains Reasons for Moscow Visit

LD2904213395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Now, on the first programs of Polish Radio and Polish Television, there follows a speech by Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy.

[Begin Oleksy recording] Good evening. Ladies and gentlemen, there have been many disputes and comments recently connected with foreign policy and my decision to go to Moscow for the ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism at the invitation of Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and the Russian Federation Government. I am not going to go into details. There was no intention behind my decision to curtail anybody's power or to be driven by any ambition. I did not foresee that the participation of the Polish prime minister in the ceremonies marking the anniversary of the liberation of Europe from Hitlerism would become a controversial issue. But as this happened, I consider it necessary to explain to the Poles why I think the presence of the head of its government in Moscow would be necessary for Poland.

There are historical, political, and most obvious moral reasons for this. The Second World War was one of the most tragic chapters of world history, the history of the European continent in particular. It cost many millions of human lives. The losses of Russia and other nations of the then Soviet Union were particularly high. Several generations were decimated, a great biological gap—still visible today—was mane. The coming anniversary has a particularly solemn character. It is to become a tribute to the memory of the fallen and a tribute to those who survived, and there are not too many of them—war veterans from many states and continents—still alive today. This, above all, will be their day. They will be addressed by statesmen from all over the world, bowing down before their self-sacrificing bravery to pay tribute to the memory of their comrades-in-arms who did not return from the war or have departed during the years of peace. This will be the moment of great silence, which will unite all visitors both from allied countries and those in discord in the past. A moment of silence, a symbol over the grave of the victims of the Second World War fallen in battles, murdered or tortured to death.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply convinced that in this moment and at this place we Poles should not be absent. Poland's place in a group of victors over the Hitlerite fascism is permanent and well earned. Our participation in this war, on many fronts, was very significant and we have the right to feel proud. A part of this pride arises from the participation in battles on the eastern fronts. Together with the Red Army we took part in important operations. After hard battles, Polish soldiers entered the Hitlerite Berlin half a century ago. The Polish flag was hoisted there next to the Red flag. Polish standards were carried during the victory parade in Moscow.

In the 1939 campaign we fought alone. In the Warsaw uprising too. With Western allies we fought for Narvik, Tobruk, Monte Cassino, and in Normandy, we fought in the battle of the Atlantic, and in the Battle of Britain. In spite of this, in 1945 we were not invited to take part in the victory parade in London. These, who remember the days of victory and the end of the war know that the rejoicing then was universal and spontaneous. The memorable liberation of our land from Hitlerism and from the threat of total extermination brought us an incomplete freedom, it did not make us a fully sovereign country, and opened a very difficult, often painful chapter, marked with a lot of wrongdoing and crime.

There followed the years closer to the tradition of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and the tragedy of the Polish officers in Katyn than to the common fight against the invader. These were the tragic experiences, the experiences of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs lording it, the Rembertov camp for the home army fighters, and the imprisonment of the Polish underground leaders at Lubyanka prison.

There will be no justifying these times by the presence of the Polish prime minister in Moscow, nor the practices and people connected with them. It will be no appreciation or acceptance by this presence for violence and

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crime wherever it was committed. But it will be the will to demonstrate solidarity with the nations of Russia, I repeat, with the nations of Russia, not with tyranny, which in its Stalinist period was destroying every one, including the nations of its own state, using brutal and mass terror. But the soldiers of the war, dead or alive, are not to blame. We are united by solidarity of the victors over Hitlerism, and solidarity of the victims of Hitlerism and Stalinism.

There are many difficult issues in the present Polish-Russian relations, although perhaps not as difficult as they appear to be. But this is not going to be the content of this visit. The Polish prime minister is not going to ask for permission for Poland to join NATO. This is the issue of our sovereignty. He is also not going to forget about these facts from the history of our relations, which constitute a painful thorn. There are also circumstances that complicates Russia's relations with the democratic states of the world. First of all there is obviously the tragic—and full of dangerous consequences—conflict in Chechnya. Together with others, we will expect and we will induce to end this drama peacefully.

I also think that during this visit it would be appropriate to visit one of the cemeteries for the Poles, Russians, and representatives of other nations murdered by the Stalinist butchers. Going there and paying tribute to the victims, I will be going with hope that the blood spilled by the people of our nations will unite and not divide us. I believe that all Polish matters in Russia connected with the places of national tragedy and remembrance will soon be resolved according to our wishes and the wishes of those who remember their relatives. The June trip to Russia and to Katyn by President Lech Walesa will certainly be conducive to this.

There are no differences between the government and the president in the understanding of the basic goals of Polish foreign policy. They are included in the agreement of main political forces. They enjoy public support. Together we want to become a full member of the European Union and NATO as soon as possible. The better the relations between Warsaw and Moscow, the more quickly and easily this will happen. The more confidence and cooperation in relations between Poland and Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, the more easily Moscow will abandon the fear that the expansion of Western structures toward the River Bug poses a threat to its interests. The West will be more willing and quicker in accepting us into their community if this does not interfere in its relations with the Russian power, but on the contrary, if Poland starts to become one of the bridges in East-West cooperation.

Ladies and gentlemen, in Europe, without the iron curtain, without the Berlin Wall, without the Cold War and competition between the political and military blocs, the question whether to accept the invitation or not is groundless. In the new Europe one has to accept invitations, especially by neighbors. After all, many years ago Talleyrand and after him the President of Finland Urho Kekkonen used to say: Every country should take care to have friends close by and enemies far away. We do not want to have enemies either close by or far away. How else to overcome a lack of confidence and to establish the principles of good neighborliness? This is the Polish state imperative, and as long as I remain at the helm of the Polish Government I will implement it.

I am glad that President Walesa has appreciated the importance of the Moscow ceremonies and he designated his personal representative to take part. It is good that representatives of Poland are present and will be present in London, Paris, and Bonn. It is necessary that the prime minister of the Polish Government and the representative of the president and parliament—as representatives of the Polish state and society—go to Moscow together. The representatives of us all, the free Poles, together with the nations of Russia and envoys from all over the world will unite in the moment of joint remembrance, tribute, and reflection. Who knows if after this reflection about the pains of yesterday it will not be easier to talk about tomorrow, and I will always be ready for such talks. I believe that you, ladies and gentlemen, understand the need for joint concern for the good future of Poland. Thank you for your attention. [end recording]

Milczanowski on Terrorism, Money-Laundering

LD2804164995 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There are about 20 criminal gangs active in Poland that use terrorist methods. Recently, our country has also become an attractive place for money laundering. Minister of Interna' Affairs Andrzej Milczanowski said that Warsaw, Gdansk, and Katowice were the cities most threatened by criminal terrorism. In the capital—only this year there have already been 25 different terrorist attacks and as a result 12 people have been killed. International organized crime in Poland also takes the form of legalization of profits coming from illegal activities. [sentence as heard] However, according to Minister Milczanowski, it is quite difficult to assess the scale of this phenomenon.

[Begin Milczanowski recording] The assessments concerning the extent of these practices are very different. However, the assessment provided by the National Bank's banking watchdog body seems to be the most plausible one. According to this assessment, we are talking about $2-$3 billion a year, involving both domestic and foreign capital.

The important thing is that the attitude to money laundering is not unequivocally negative among individual circles. Some representatives of Polish economic and financial elites—not the government ones; I do not want any misunderstandings here—treat various ways of obtaining foreign capital—I stress foreign capital—as a

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factor stimulating the state economy, particularly in the period of system transformations. [end recording]
rld Seen

MM0105082695 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 20 Apr 95 p 4

[Article by Jan Dziadul: "Look Out! Here Comes Competition: Before European Union Becomes Internal Market for Polish Coal"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In 1994 Western Europe, and especially the European Union [EU], was the world's second-ranking coal importer (116 million tonnes) after Japan (116.5 million tonnes). According to forecasts by the International Energy Agency, in 2010 the EU market will absorb at least twice as much coal. We should even now begin to get used to the idea that, once Poland joins the EU (which seems to be quite inevitable), the latter will become for us the domestic market.

Even if today the Polish coal industry benefits largely from "geographical privilege," in future we could probably still count on a "political privilege"....

Well, we might count on it, but it is certain that we will not be presented with it automatically, "lock, stock, and barrel," as our inalienable right. Everything will depend on the extent to which we manage to command the market and the situation in Poland's mining industry. It is reasonable to expect that the putative status of "privileged producer" which Poland could be given in the EU is currently being examined in minute detail by the largest overseas coal exporters.

The Stakes in the Game

I would dearly like to be a false prophet about this, but I believe that we should be prepared to expect the competitive war against our coal to grow much more sharp and intense in the next few years, while we are still, as it were, in the EU's waiting rooms. The most likely warfare strategies will be: long-term contracts aimed at blocking Poland's chances to sell coal to newly built coal-based power stations (fitting these stations with equipment designed to operate only with specified kinds of coal); noisy propaganda actions associated with, say, our alleged application of dumping prices; and campaigns designed to undermine our credibility as a supplier....

The stakes in the game are truly colossal. Last year, the EU countries alone spent some $6 billion on coal purchases. As coal extraction in the FRG and Britain continues to go down, and as demand continues to grow, this expenditure will go on increasing rapidly. The sums of money involved here are both enormous and hugely tempting.... We must not exclude the possibility that veiled attempts will be made at destabilizing the situation in Poland's mining industry. After all, the power industry, which is the largest coal consumer, is particularly sensitive to the reliability of coal deliveries. One thing is certain here: Our competitors have already made a detailed reconnaissance of every inch of our mining sector. For several years now, with childlike trust, we have kept our coal-mining industry wide open to the vivisectional probings of each and every foreign consultancy firm that came along, and it never occurred to us to wonder whether they are bogus or genuine. We have been showing our hand freely while everyone else held theirs close to their chest.

Russia: Cheap Coal, Costly Transport

Our major rivals in the European markets are the overseas producers: for coking coal—the United States, Australia, and Canada; for steam coal—the United States, Australia, the Republic of South Africa, and Colombia.

Our nearest coal producer, the Czech Republic, extracts too little coal (it actually needs to import coal, too) to present a serious threat to our position. The relatively cheap Russian coal, whose uncontrolled expansion contributed to the destabilization of the European markets and the plummeting of prices in the early nineties, is today being kept out of the market by Russia's domestic transportation charges. The current carriage charge for 1 tonne of coal transported from a mine in Central Asia to a port on the Black Sea or the Baltic is approximately $25. The further costs of transshipment and sea freight limit the attractiveness of Russian coal even further. In addition, coal extraction figures in Russia continue to drop while the demand from the internal market continues to rise.

Ukraine, traditionally a large coal producer, is also beginning to suffer from a serious coal shortage, and everything seems to suggest that within the next few years it will become a major coal importer. Weglokoks [Polish coal production and distribution company] alone intends to sell 6 million tonnes of coal in Ukrainian markets this year.

In consequence, the only serious competition to Polish coal can come from overseas coal producers. [passage omitted]

The aforementioned "big three" of the coal-exporting world, that is, Australia, the United States, and South Africa, are our most important competitors in the European markets, both now and in the future. Each of these states commands sufficient production potential to enable them to step up their coal extraction and coal exports at a very short notice and to a degree which could wipe out our own coal offer to the European market. In addition, we should not forget that Canada, Venezuela, and Colombia are also showing lively interest in this market.

It is certain that the big exporters will be anything but pleased when a major new coal producer appears on the scene within the European Union (the world's biggest coal consumer), especially as that newcomer will be entitled to take advantage of the usual privileges available to internal market members. It is precisely for this reason that we may expect that the next few years will

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bring us intensified competition warfare aimed at cutting the ground from under our coal industry....

Minister on Privatization of Communications

LD2804202895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1801 GMT 28 Apr 95

[By Andrzej Swidlicki]

[FBIS Translated Text] London, 28 Apr—"According to the British, Poland is the sixth most important telecommunications market in Europe and the largest among the Central and East European countries," Communications Minister Andrzej Zielinski told PAP, summing up his three-day visit to London, which ended on 28 April.

Speaking about his department's plans, Minister Zielinski said that next year a decision would be made about the method, the timetable, and the extent of privatization of Telekomunikacja Polska SA (TPSA). In this respect the ministry intends to seek original solutions, rather than copying any of the models that exist in other countries. "The telecommunications market is highly competitive and dynamic; the adoption of a wrong solution, which does not suit the Polish circumstances, could have negative effects for years to come," believes Minister Zielinski.

This year the ministry intends to liberalize the telecommunications services market. Alongside the single currently existing cell phone market monopolist, who uses an analogue system, there will be two other operators, using the GSM (Global System for Mobile Telephony) system, which has been adopted in many countries as a standard component of the telecommunications infrastructure.

Apart from cell phones and services developing on their basis, such as paging, the Polish telecommunications market is also to open up in the field of local services, which alongside the TPSA will be provided by local operators. The areas that are to remain longest outside the free market, that is under the TPSA, will be trunk and international lines.

From 1 January 1998 the European Union liberalizes the telecommunications services and infrastructure market (with the exception of Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and Greece, which have delayed this process by five years). As Poland expects to join the European Union around the year 2000, according to Minister Zielinski, "our country has about five or six years to adjust to the highly competitive and liberalized market."

In London Minister Zielinski was familiarized, among other things, with the regulation of the telecommunications market, held talks with businessmen, was received at the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and also visited the leading British telecommunications companies, British Telecom and Cables and Wires [as received].

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Zubak Says Extended Truce 'Very Unlikely'

AU0105091895 Paris AFP in English 0841 GMT 1 May 95

[by Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, May 1 (AFP)—Hours before a formal cease-fire was to run out in Bosnia Monday, UN envoy Yasushi Akashi was still trying for a non-aggression pact between the warring parties. [passage omitted]

Separatist Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic late Sunday demanded the lifting of sanctions against his unrecognised regime in return for any agreement needed to keep the lid on Bosnian fighting.

Akashi, who Sunday failed to persuade either of the Bosnian warring parties to agree to a formal cease-fire extension, met Bosnian Croat leader Kresimir Zubak at the Bosnian presidency building in Sarajevo at 9:30 a.m. (0730 GMT) for talks.

The UN envoy declined to answer reporters' questions as he entered the presidency to meet first Zubak and later Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. He was after lunch to travel to Pale, the Bosnian Serb mountain stronghold 15 kilometres (nine miles) east of Sarajevo, for a final meeting with Karadzic.

Asked if it might still be possible to get some sort of non-agression pact, Akashi's spokesman Colum Murphy said late Sunday: "We may get something of that nature and we're going to keep pushing that stone up hill in tomorrow's (Monday's) meetings."

But he cautioned: "I think it would be wise to have low expectations." [passage omitted]

After his talks with Akashi on Sunday, Karadzic said he would only agree to a renewal of a temporary truce "if international sanctions against Serbs are lifted."

The Bosnian government has refused all suggestions of a permanent ceasefire which would, it says, effectively legalise the Serb "occupation" of 70 percent of the Republic. Karadzic said Bosnian Serbs must be treated as equal to other parties to the conflict with the lifting of sanctions and recognition of the self-proclaimed Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At one point the Serbs suggested that if the government implemented the present agreement fully in the next ten days, the Serbs might change their view of the situation, a UN official said, stressing that the United Nations was skeptical about this. The attempts to renew the much-violated cease-fire in Bosnia have gathered pace in recent weeks focused on the UN envoy's efforts and those of the five-nation "Contact Group" on Bosnia. The Contact Group—Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States—met for three hours in Paris last Friday and was expected to meet again on Wednesday and Friday this week.

If nothing comes of Monday's meetings, "the ball (would) once again, be in the court of the Contact Group," Murphy said. Several diplomats and military analysts have fears of a return to full-scale war were exaggerated. The Bosnian forces are stronger than before and can hurt the Serbs in places but are not strong enough to really wound, western military analysts working here said. Moreover, UN troops remain a deterrent, despite doubts about their peacekeeping mission.

After meeting Akashi, Bosnian Croat leader Kresimir Zubak said Monday it was "very unlikely" that there would be any extension of the cease-fire. It was "very unlikely that an extension of the cease-fire would be agreed," he told reporters. If there was any such agreement, or a less formal non-aggression pact, the Bosnian Croat party would sign up to it, he indicated.

Silajdzic, Akashi Comment

LD3004141795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Apr 95

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, was in Sarajevo today, where he met with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Federation President Kresimir Zubak. Akashi left for Pale after the talks. He will return to Sarajevo by the end of the day for talks with Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic. [name indistinct] reporting on the talks with Akashi:

[Correspondent] After the talks with Prime Minister Silajdzic and Minister Hasan Muratovic, Akashi gave a statement for the media. Among other things, Akashi said:

[Begin Akashi recording, in English fading into Serbo-Croatian report] We have discussed a possible extension of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. I have to say with regret that the reply we received from Mr. Silajdzic was not a positive one. The stand of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government will be thoroughly examined by the United Nations.

Akashi then expressed the hope that—as he said—the Bosnian Government would exercise maximum restraint from military provocations and that common ground would finally be reached in order to retain a status quo on the ground, which will enable Akashi to continue his diplomatic efforts toward achieving peace.

Prime Minister Silajdzic also addressed the journalists. He said he could not see any progress made during the talks. Silajdzic said: We are now saying that we could have prevented the events in Vukovar, but I hope we will not say the same thing for Bosnia one day.

[Silajdzic] "I told Mr. Akashi that we cannot replace talks on peace with talks on a cease-fire. The talks on a cease-fire cannot obscure the fundamental problem, i.e.

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that the Serbs in Pale have not accepted the Contact Group's plan, which we have accepted."

[Correspondent] Silajdzic then briefed the journalists on the death of a Bosnian Government driver, killed on duty this morning by aggressors when driving on Mt. Igman.

[Silajdzic] "We agreed to (cooperate) [words indistinct] and the safety of this road, which has been taking many lives."

[Correspondent] The aggressors yesterday attacked Bihac with aircraft, and dozens of people were killed. This was also one of the topics of the discussion.

[Silajdzic] "There is no doubt that Serb aircraft did that and that they took off from Udbina airport. It seems that they dropped cluster bombs. We told Mr. Akashi that the international community seems to be happy with containing the problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their main task and concern is that the conflict should not spill out of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It seems that anything that is coming into Bosnia-Herzegovina is fine, even if it is enemy aircraft.

"This is why I also reiterated some of our stances concerning the embargo. It is obvious that if the situation in Bihac and other similar towns continues—if the killing of innocent people continues—we will have to launch a resolute action to have the arms embargo lifted.

"I will explain why I am saying this. It is obvious that the more arms are in the right hands in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the less war there is. The situation in the field proves this. We had much more fighting one year ago than we do today because there are now more arms in the right hands. This means that peace would probably be restored if we had more arms. Logic tells us that if the arms embargo has brought only death and misfortune to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the lifting of the embargo would bring peace. This is what logic is telling us, anyway.

"As for the extension, what Mr. Akashi said is perfectly true: The extension of peace, or rather [words indistinct] the cessation of hostilities. [sentence as heard] We said that the basic problem was peace, and the fact that the Serbs do not want to accept the Contact Group's plan, which—I would like to stress—is not our plan. It is the Contact Group's plan. It, in fact, rewards the genocide, but we accepted it anyway. The Serbs have not accepted it, and this is a problem. No cease-fire talks can obscure this situation.

"We said informally, however, that we will not actively engage our troops if the enemy stops passively and actively killing our people. What does passively mean? It means if the enemy continues to obstruct convoys—especially now during sowing season—this is a slow killing of our people; this is genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Under the Geneva convention, this is genocide because large groups of people who are cut off are denied food provisions. Active killing is, of course, when people are killed in shelling. If the Serbs continue to kill our people—either in one or the other way—we will have to respond to these actions."

Izetbegovic Interviewed on Cease-Fire Agreement

LD2904191695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, today received the general manager and editor in chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina press news agency and answered a number of questions in connection with the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In reply to the first question, on the expiry of the cease-fire agreement and on possible pressure for its extension, President Izetbegovic said that there is no such pressure, although there is strong indirect pressure. President Izetbegovic said, among other things:

The final stand has not been taken, but I think it is this: It would have been possible to extend the cease-fire on two occasions; had Karadzic's Serbs accepted the Contact Group's plan and had Milosevic recognized the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As this has not happened, our side will most likely not accept a formal cease-fire extension.

The next question was—will clashes escalate throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately after 1 May?

President Izetbegovic's reply was that it all depends on the other side. As far as we are concerned, when I mentioned that we would not accept the cease-fire, I had in mind a formal extension, the signing of a new agreement, annex, or similar. For well-known reasons we are not prepared to do that, but I wish to stress that we will exercise maximum restraint. The condition is that restraint should also be exercised by the other side.

President Izetbegovic went on to say that a new formal cease-fire would freeze the factual situation, and the factual situation is two thirds of Bosnia-Herzegovina under occupation.

Restraint means that we will not undertake any major military actions, but this is not unconditional. Whenever we are attacked, we will not accept the shelling and strangulation of Sarajevo. We are still accepting this, but for how long, we shall see, Alija Izetbegovic said.

In connection with accusations that we have not observed the cease-fire, President Izetbegovic replied: By its nature, the cease-fire is not divisible. Karadzic thought he could have peace wherever he wanted and carry out attacks wherever it suited him. In concrete terms—peace in Tuzla and central Bosnia, while attacking Bihac and continuing the strangulation of Sarajevo. On several occasions we warned both him and international players that this would no longer be acceptable, but our intelligence services discovered that Karadzic transferred considerable forces to Bihac under

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the shield of a cease-fire, with the aim of breaking the 5th Corps. We then carried out actions on Mount Vlasic to show him his calculations were wrong. We are not (?hiding) this, but it is clear that our action on Mt. Vlasic could not be viewed separately from the attacks on Bihac, which have not stopped since last October and continued during the entire cease-fire, which is in direct violation of the signed cease-fire agreement.

As for the pullout of UN Protection Force soldiers, advocated by the French and British Governments, the stand of the president of the Presidency is as follows: It is certainly a serious matter. France and Britain will be guided by the interests of their own states, and we by the interests of Bosnia. We think that it is in our greater interest not to allow the freezing of the existing demarcation lines, and we will leave it to France and Britain to make their own decisions. We will ask them to stay, but we will not beg anyone on our knees not to go.

In Bosnia we are undertaking a European, and if you like even a world mission of a struggle against fascism. By defending ourselves we are defending our principles, in which Britain and France ought to be equally interested. Genocide is being committed here, cultural and religious buildings are being demolished, civilization destroyed, but some civilized states remain neutral. But the French and British Governments are responsible to their own, and not our public. They will make decisions as they see fit, but it is up to us to tell them what I have just said.

These were the replies of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, he gave today to questions by the managing director and editor in chief of Bosnia-Herzegovina Press news agency.

Karadzic Conditions Cease-Fire With Lifting Sanctions

LD3004181295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 Apr 95

[Received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 30 Apr (SRNA)—At a meeting today with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, Serb President Radovan Karadzic reiterated that the Srpska republic could accept only a lasting cessation of hostilities. He conditioned a temporary cease-fire with the lifting of the sanctions against the Serbs.

"We presented our standpoint that a cessation of hostilities means no war, and no war implies no sanctions—not only against us, but against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] as well," Karadzic said after the meeting.

Expressing his readiness to consider a temporary cessation of hostilities—under the condition that the Srpska republic is treated equally to all other parties to the conflict—Karadzic explained that "the conditions under which the negotiations are held are not equal for all sides if the Serbs are under sanctions, while the Croat and Muslim sides are not."

"This is why we are advocating a lasting cessation of hostilities, while territorial and constitutional issues would be discussed later at some conference", the president of the Srpska republic stressed.

Confirming that they held talks on two issues—the extension of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities and the possibility of reopening Sarajevo Airport—Akashi told correspondents that the Srpska republic president's demand for the lifting of the sanctions was not under UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] competence.

"Karadzic stressed that he would accept a lasting cease-fire, while a temporary cease-fire could only be accepted if the sanctions were to be lifted. But, you have to remember that the lifting of the sanctions is not under the competence of UNPROFOR, but the UN Security Council", Akashi specified.

Zubak, Ganic Discuss Bonn Agreement in Jablanica

AU2804205795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A working meeting between Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, president and vice president of the Federation respectively, was held in Jablanica today. After the meeting, they told our correspondent, Zlata Behram, the following:

[Begin recording] [Zubak] Mr. Ganic and I had a working meeting today. In fact, we have been having contacts every day, we hear each other on the telephone, talk about all issues that (?refer) [word indistinct] other peoples, particularly the issues of the implementation of the Constitution of the Federation.

Today we talked here about several issues, mostly about what we should do with a view to [word indistinct] the process of implementation of [word indistinct] agreements, that is, to be more specific, the Bonn Agreement, [word indistinct] on (?security) military issues, as well as the issues that we are going to discuss soon with the responsible factors from the international community and that pertain to the (?extension) of the truce in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the agreement on the truce, and to future (?talks) on the political setup of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As has been usual in the cases when Mr. Granic and I talk, the talks were completely concrete and open and constructive, and I think that we have agreed upon several very significant issues, that is, we talked about several questions that I believe we are going to solve in the field very soon. I think that, despite the fact that the deadlines pertaining to some points of the Bonn Agreement have passed, we may say that we have done a lot.

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[Words indistinct] complicated job, each populated [word indistinct] has its problems. (?You know) that after returning from Bonn, I said that I am a pessimist regarding the possibility of realizing the [word indistinct] agreement before a certain deadline. However, then and today we (?are happy) and I am a modest optimist regarding being able to realize that what we agreed and signed in Bonn. However, you should not [word indistinct] ask for the time when this will be realized, I said that this is very complicated, but am sure that we shall realize it.

(?We analyzed) the military situation, and I talked about the way one should relate to [word indistinct] and Akashi and the entire UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] sector, [passage indistinct] that has in fact been interrupted.

We have, to a certain extent, changed our stand.

[Ganic] Mr. Zubak and I analyzed the results of the Bonn Agreement. We analyzed the situation in every municipality. A lot has been done. Next in line is Stolac. The (?electoral) assembly is to be held in that town. Therefore, we are making progress. We analyzed the military-political situation, touched upon the work of the Contact Group and our stands and further contacts with the Contact Group. We also touched upon the platform that we are going to discuss at the meeting with Mr. Akashi.

As Mr. Zubak said, we expect Karadzic's Serbs to accept the Contact Group plan. The truce extension would be certain in that case. On the other hand, we met here because we both are travelling, performing some concrete tasks in the field. I think that [words indistinct] because there is very much work when the implementation of the Federation is at stake. What is involved here is the restructuring, of a more-or-less complete structure, from the bottom up. A lot has been done: Federal coordination bodies have been [word indistinct], there are steps forward in [word indistinct] as well. However, we have ascertained today that arbiters are coming on the 9th [date not further specified], that is, Mr. Owen from the United States and Mr. Schwartz who will also perform a sort of arbitrage together with Mr. Owen. We are expecting a greater participation on the part of the international community.

We also talked about the coordination of dates, it is 4 May for the Constituent Assembly, when this Assembly will hopefully also confirm the Bonn Agreement and, of course, some bases of our foreign policy. [words indistinct] with Mr. Zubak, some stands that we have been analyzing at the Presidency every day, some of his thoughts and everything that is awaiting us in the coming days. [end recording]

Zubak Addresses Herceg-Bosna Chamber of Deputies

LD2804180995 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Chamber of Deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna today endorsed a report by the Presidential Council on the situation in Herceg-Bosna and the Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] Federation, which was submitted by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Council and president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Deputies also decided to request from the Muslim side the complete truth about the fate of General Vlado Santic. If the request is not met, they will call for the Federation's sponsor to be an arbiter in the matter. Ivan Kristic has the report on today's proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna:

[Kristic] Submitting his report on the situation in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and the B-H Federation, and on the performance of the Presidential Council of Herceg-Bosna, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Council and of the Federation, said that the Croatian people in B-H accepted the idea on the organization of the Federation. Speaking about (?our views) on the Federation, President Zubak said:

[Begin Zubak recording] At the level of structural elements we insist on the equality of nations regardless of their number, without the majority rule and discrimination. We see everything else as unitarism and the domination of the majority nation over the minority one. Rights and liberties come under the same category. We advocate the application of the principle of freedom for all and [equal] rights for all, regardless of their religion, nation, race, and the size of their [federal] units.

Any departure from these principles means totalitarianism and discrimination. We will not accept either past or present models of rule, i.e. oriental oligarchy, royal dictatorships, protectorates, communist totalitarianism, or any other forms of unitarian rule.

Croats in B-H, Croats in the Republic of Croatia, and those in the diaspora, accepted the Federation, but not as a transitional solution or a surrogate state, but as a long-term model of living with Bosniak Muslims. [end recording]

[Kristic] A year has passed since the signing of the Washington Agreement. Their application, like the application of the Federal Constitution, is proceeding slowly. Zubak explains why:

[Begin Zubak recording] Within the Bosniak Muslim political and military leadership there is still a strong desire and a prominent faction [as heard] that advocates in public a multicultural and multiethnic B-H, which is just rhetoric and an [empty] phrase and not an envisaged model of the state. What is their attitude to the B-H Federation? This is best illustrated by the practice and the factual situation in territories under the control of their armed forces, and it is manifested in political and other forms of pressure, expulsions from apartments, forced mobilization, the destruction and vandalizing of graves and religious buildings, bans on the activity of cultural and humanitarian organizations and similar activities, which encourages the migration of non-Muslim people.

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Calculations are still being made with B-H as a state of the fundamental [temeljni] Bosniak-Muslim nation organized according to modern forms of theocracy. Such strivings and practice—if we were to accept them—will mean our moral and political degradation and we must suppress this with all the means at our disposal. [end recording]

[Kristic] We must never go beyond constitutional provisions, President Zubak said resolutely. The settlement of the B-H crisis, despite international efforts, is not taking a peaceful political course and a war option is becoming increasingly likely. The consolidation of defense must therefore remain our priority. Good results have been achieved in this field and Zubak gives concrete examples to back this up:

[Begin Zubak recording] Owing to this, in our liberation actions we managed to liberate over 2,500 square km of territory and prove to our opponents and to the world that we are a respectable military force and that we have the strength to realize our rights and protect our interests by military means. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Croat Council Debates Federation, Croats' Exodus

LD2904174695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An expanded session of the Croat National Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been held in Sarajevo. A debate was held on the implementation so far of the agreement on the establishment of the Federation, as well as on the tasks of the Croat National Council [HNV] stemming from the Washington Agreement.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation project has prevented the final division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and ensured the survival of Croat and Bosniak people there. However, more than a year has passed and some negative trends have still not been halted, the session concluded. Ivo Komsic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and HNV chairman, warned in particular that the exodus of Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina has not yet stopped, and that it is taking place far from the eyes of the world, free from any real political judgements. This process is making an increasingly visible mark on the overall future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in support of the policy of the country's ethnic division.

Members of the HNV maintain that the process can only be stopped by presenting in clear terms the political prospects for Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There can be no such prospects without the awareness that Bosnia-Herzegovina is also a state of Croat people.

The members concluded that it is necessary to mount various activities to eliminate the reasons for the exodus of Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina and to create conditions for the return of refugees. A federation organized as a democratic state provides a strategic basis for resolving the present crisis. For it to function successfully it is necessary to urgently prepare adequate laws which will ensure that the Constitution is implemented, it was concluded.

MBO Critical of Federation Assembly Venue

AU2804160495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Apr 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the news conference of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] that was held in Sarajevo today, it was said that, after incomprehensible delays, the meeting of the Constituent Assembly will be convened in Novi Travnik. The MBO recognizes the reasons given for this decision, and has nothing against convening the assembly in any place in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, (?we are not) convinced that Novi Travnik meets all the necessary conditions, particularly as the authorities have still not been constituted in that region in the way envisaged in the Constitution of the Federation, Mujo Kafedzic [MBO Main Committee vice chairman] said. All the deadlines established by the Bonn Agreement have expired and practically nothing has been done. According to Kafedzic, the situation in 1991, when the criminal Serbian Democratic Party was destroying Bosnia-Herzegovina [word indistinct] municipalities and expressing (?boycott) of the bodies of the Republican authorities, is being repeated.

The announcement says further that the foolish and irresponsible attitude of the Assembly [words indistinct] toward deputies and political parties as even the agenda was not issued, not to speak about other documents. According to the MBO, the Assembly must demand the responsibility of the president and vice president of the Federation. For such a state, the MBO is blaming the Croatian Democratic Community and the Party of Democratic Action who, led by power hungry passions, are trying to grab the right to independently decide on [word indistinct].

Ahmo Hodzic, member of the MBO Main Committee, spoke about some countries' (?attitude) toward the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hodzic (?condemned) the threat of the French, English, and Russian Governments to withdraw their troops from our country if the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government fails to sign the truce extension. In this case, the said governments are using the grave humanitarian situation to exert pressure on Bosnia-Herzegovina Government to sign the truce. This would in fact be the way to recognize the (?factual) situation, which suits the aggressor. All that, along with not allowing the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to arm itself so that it could defend our country's citizens, makes one conclude that the said countries are only verbally on the side [words indistinct] aggression.

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Government Protests to UN Over Serb Attacks

LD3004174695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have received news that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government has held a special session in response to the further deterioration of the situation in Sarajevo, which the United Nations have proclaimed a safety zone and a heavy weapons exclusion zone.

The government concluded that the paramilitary formations from Pale are stepping up their daily terrorist attacks against Sarajevo, although the cease-fire agreement has not expired. The city is under constant artillery attacks, despite the fact that UN documents stipulate that all heavy weapons should be under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control. Every day snipers kill and wound innocent civilians. Vehicles transporting high-ranking members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government came under an artillery attack today and a driver was killed. The strangulation of Sarajevo continues despite the international community's promises that it will not allow it. Humanitarian situation is becoming increasingly difficult because the aggressors are obstructing convoys with food and other materials for civilians. All this is happening before the eyes of high-ranking UN officials and UNPROFOR members who have done very little to enforce the current cease-fire, but are very active when they exert pressure formally to extend it.

The government decided to address the UN Security Council again, and demand that all provisions from the resolutions on the protection of Sarajevo be implemented immediately and resolutely. If the United Nations fails to do its duty, the state bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina have the right to take the measures of legitimate defense because no one can demand from Sarajevo residents to continue suffering from the shelling, the blockade, and the strangulation of the city.

Ganic, Japan's Kono Discuss Cease-Fire

OW3004130795 Tokyo KYODO in English 1226 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, April 30 KYODO—A leader of the Bosnian Government told Foreign Minister Yohei Kono on Sunday [30 April] that his government will extend a currently unraveling cease-fire due to expire Monday if Yugoslavia recognizes the Muslim-led regime, Japanese Government officials said.

In a meeting in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, Vice President Ejup Ganic told Kono that he will convey his government's position to UN Envoy Yasushi Akashi, the officials said. Ganic also told Kono that unless Bosnia is attacked, the government will not initiate an attack against rebel Serbs who control close to one-third of the country even if the four-month truce is not extended.

Kono said he will call on Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic to recognize the Bosnian Government in the scheduled meeting on Monday in Budapest. Kono, however, gave no clear answer to Ganic's request for Japan's recognition of his government, saying only that he hopes a day will come when normal diplomatic relations are established after the current conflict is settled.

Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said last week his government will not extend the cease-fire despite mounting pressure and threats to withdraw the UN Peacekeeping forces. After the meeting with the Bosnian leader, Kono also met Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and President Franjo Tudjman and pledged to build a facility to accommodate 1,000 refugees jointly with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

On Saturday, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic assured Kono of Croatian cooperation with UN peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia. During the meeting, Kono told Valentic that all disputes must be solved through talks, the officials said.

Valentic replied that he appreciates the cooperation of Akashi, the civilian Japanese head of the UN peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia, and that Croatia will do its utmost to assist and support the operation, the officials said. They said Valentic also indicated that Croatia will back Japan's bid to gain a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

Earlier, Kono inspected a refugee camp near the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina and presented stationery and other supplies, including drawing paper and crayons for refugee children. Kono said Japan also plans to supply more than 500,000 dollars worth of medical supplies. Kono arrived in the Croatian capital of Zagreb on Friday for talks with Croatian national leaders and UN officials.

Izetbegovic Speaks About Milosevic, Federation

AU2804152195 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 95 p 15

["Exclusive" interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic by unidentified MONITOR correspondent; place and date not given: "Milosevic Has Recognized Bosnia to Himself"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [MONITOR] The cease-fire is about to expire. Are we closer to a resumption of the war or to peace?

[Izetbegovic] That depends on Karadzic. Both we and the world have been waiting for months now for him to accept the Contact Group peace plan. As you know, this plan has been accepted by everyone, both the sides involved and the external sides that are interested, including Milosevic. The Bosnian Serbs are the only ones not to have accepted it. The war could have ended two years ago. Everyone then, except Karadzic, had accepted

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the Vance-Owen plan. If the war continues, the responsibility for that will be clearly on one side. I do not know whether your readers know, but the Contact Group plan envisages that the Serbs, who make up 31.6 percent of the population, would get 49 percent of the territory. They want more, they want 56 percent, and the rest of us, who make up 68 percent of the population, would get 44 percent. That is Karadzic's idea of justice.

[MONITOR] Mr. Muhamed Filipovic visited Belgrade recently. The delegation of the Serb Civic Council has been to Serbia and Montenegro, and now guests from these two republics are visiting Sarajevo. Of what significance are these visits?

[Izetbegovic] We had an impression, better said, a feeling, that the Serbian people were sobering up a bit, which we would have welcomed of course. We wanted to check this out.

[MONITOR] What were the results?

[Izetbegovic] Not great, but satisfactory. This process is particularly important when it comes to the Serbs on the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This process is gaining the strength of a pro-Bosnian movement. Crimes and injustice cannot triumph.

[MONITOR] There is a lot of talk in Serbia and Montenegro about the mutual recognition of the former Yugoslav republics. What are the chances of Milosevic recognizing Bosnia and Croatia?

[Izetbegovic] I believe that he has already made that decision to himself, and now he is wondering about how to implement it. That is my impression. Milosevic is a realistic politician. He realizes that this is, after all, inevitable.

[MONITOR] What is your attitude toward the project of a sovereign Montenegro?

[Izetbegovic] It is positive. The Montenegrin people are the victims of the same policy that has tried to destroy the people of Bosnia. I would like to use this opportunity to salute the not insignificant number of eminent Montenegrins who had the courage to condemn the aggression and crimes in Bosnia during the darkest hours. Our people know about it, and they will not forget.

[MONITOR] Is there any progress in the establishment of the Bosniak-Croatian Federation and, in your view, are all chances lost for the Bosnian Serbs to join the Federation?

[Izetbegovic] The process is slow, but it is moving. Let me paraphrase: It is still moving. One of our priorities is to have the Bosnian Serbs join the Federation. You will understand why: There is no integral Bosnia without that.

Army, HVO Delegation Discuss Joint Defense

AU2804145095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Members of the Joint Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have been visiting Tuzla today. We have a report on their activities there by (?Enesa Salihovic):

[Salihovic] Tuzla-Podrinje Canton Governor (?Ismet Hadzic) received the representatives of the Joint Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO and had a lengthy open talk with them. They pointed out that the main reason for their visit to the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton was to acquaint themselves with the current situation in the field and to solve certain problems, and (?all that with a view to) creating the best possible conditions for the implementation of the Constitution of the Federation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the agreements recently reached at the highest level between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the HVO, and the Croatian Army.

During the meeting, opinions were exchanged on the possibilities of creating a joint defense system of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with special emphasis on solving logistic and [word indistinct] support in a unified way. Also touched upon was the possibility of forming HVO brigades (?in Tuzla and) [word indistinct], the results to date, and the continuation of the joint defense against the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor.

Delic Addresses Troops on 'Battle' Preparations

LD2904183595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Apr 95

[Passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Army General Rasim Delic and his aides today toured Tesanj and the free Doboj and Teslic territories. The high-ranking guests visited the units of the 37th Division of our army's 3rd Corps. [passage omitted]

Army Gen. Rasim Delic also addressed the members of the 375th Liberation Brigade. He said the following, among other things:

[Delic] "The time of improvisation has passed. We must not improvise anything. We must be well trained and well equipped with all the necessary elements when we go into battle. One of the important elements—training—should give us a degree of safety when we carry out tasks; because there will be more tasks to come.

"Do not listen too much to the political negotiations and talks. That is the politicians' business: To talk and negotiate. The stronger we are, the stronger their negotiating position will be. It has been like this throughout this conflict: The stronger the army has been, the stronger the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been.

"It is now certain, everyone in the world knows, that no one can now destroy the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and no one can attempt to solve the problems in the

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territory of the former Yugoslavia or the Balkans without the participation of the Bosniak Muslim nation, and by virtue of that [word indistinct], the army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is what we, the army, have managed to achieve through our own strength.

"In order to keep going and to achieve what we want, we must not pause for a second."

Everyone knows that the four-month cease-fire expires tomorrow. In connection with this, Army Gen. Delic had the following to say to the fighters and officers of the 37th Division of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 3d Corps:

[Delic] "The cease-fire, which expires tomorrow, is probably the first cease-fire in the past three years of war from which we will come out with more territory than we had when it started. The chetniks often used the cease-fires to capture territory from us. This time we are the winners.

"The cease-fire will not be extended because the conditions are clear to everyone. There is no force now which could order the state bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina to accept the unacceptable. Our demands are clear: The recognition of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Serbia, the deployment of the UN protection forces on the border of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Serbia and Montenegro, and the acceptance of the Contact Group's plan. The clique currently in power in the chetnik parastate cannot accept the Contact Group's plan, because that would mean their disappearance.

"Therefore, they can disappear only when we are stronger. We must continue fighting, but wisely, in an organized fashion, with a clear purpose. Every life is precious for us. This is why we have to be well-trained and well-equipped, and consider every task thoroughly and responsibly. But, you should know that every inch of new territory is a gain for us and a loss for them. We must take this as the starting point. We do not have one problem, but 101 problems, and as we solve them and become better organized, there will be more. In 1992 our greatest problem was how to organize ourselves and acquire guns, but now we have 101 problems because we are going deep into their nature to solve them.

"No one will say anything about all this tomorrow, in the historic tomorrow some 20, 30, or 50 years ahead. They will only talk about the contribution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and we, and you, will tell your children and grandchildren who gave what for that struggle. Everything subjective, all subjective problems, will be forgotten. This is why I always say: We are now fighting for the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the survival of the nation and the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are solving and will solve all other problems. But, always bear in mind that this is our goal. We must overcome all problems [word indistinct]].

"I demand from you to do this, because we have the strength, the potential, the motives, and good will. We should not deceive ourselves: The other side is also strong. But our motives, our training, our youth and enthusiasm—as well as justice, which is on our side—must win. Everyone understands this now, and no one is speaking about the defeat of the army or the disappearance of Bosnia. Therefore, we must go into new victories well-trained and well-equipped.

"In this area, where so many things are being decided upon, I expect the glory of the units deployed here to resound throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Your fame has travelled far, but I would like it to go even further, or closer if we are advancing. I wish you the best of luck. Officers, save lives, but, we must go ahead. Our only future is ahead."

Karavelic Describes Current Military Operations

AU3004195895 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 95 pp 14-15

["Exclusive" interview with Brigadier General Vahid Karavelic, commander of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1st Corps, followed by a report, both by Antun Masle in Sarajevo, date not given: "We Shall Breach the Serbian Encirclement Around Sarajevo by the End of the Year and Immediately Attack Pale!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brigadier General Vahid Karavelic, the commander of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1st Corps, belongs to a group of younger high-ranking Bosnian army officers. He is 38 and started his military career in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], in which he served from 1979 to 1991. He was first stationed in the well-known Center for the Education of Reserve Officers in Bileca, and then in Pivka, Postojna and Ljubljana. After the short war in Slovenia, he was transferred from Ljubljana to Zenica and then to Tuzla. In September 1991, he joined the Patriotska Liga of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Patriotic League] and left the JNA at the end of the same year.

At the beginning of the war in Bosnia, Karavelic became commander of the Patriotic League Staff for the Tuzla region. At the end of April 1992, he was arrested by the JNA in Zivince. He was deported to Sremska Mitrovica and exchanged a month later in Pale.

At the end of July 1993, Karavelic was appointed commander of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H Army] 1st Corps, the largest Bosnian military formation, whose zone of responsibility is the Sarajevo basin—the latter is the term used also by the JNA.

The 1st Corps forces are leading two important operations at the moment with the aim of moving Serbian lines on the outskirts of the town further away. The operation according to which the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina is trying to oust Serbian forces from the "Famos" Factory in Hrasnicaa is underway too. Apart from that, the operation according to which the Serbs

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should be pushed from their last positions on the Djoka peak on Treskavica Mountain is currently also being completed.

We talked with General Karavelic at his staff office in Sarajevo.

[Masle] Is it true that the 1st Corps forces conquered the last Serbian positions on Treskavica Mountain?

[Karavelic] The information is true. Our soldiers succeeded in neutralizing the Djoka peak. The enemy published that it lost 14 soldiers there. As a consequence, the Serbs required the international community to reduce humanitarian aid for Sarajevo, which is completely absurd.

Breaching the Encirclement

[Maslo] High-ranking B-H Army officers like to speak about strengthening the Bosnian Army, but they have not done anything yet regarding breaching the encirclement around Sarajevo, although it must be pointed out that Bosnian troops have made progress in the mountainous area surrounding the town. It is assessed that the B-H Army is still not strong enough to breach the encirclement in the most important direction, toward Ilidza, which would make it possible to open the road between Sarajevo, Konjic, Jablanica and Mostar. Can you tell us how and when the encirclement of Sarajevo might be breached?

[Karavelic] It is not easy to make prognoses in a war, but I am sure that we will breach the blockade by the end of 1995.

[Maslo] On the one hand, there is the image of the B-H Army as a powerful force that increasingly takes the initiative; on the other hand, there are indicators that the encirclement might last for a long time yet. The defense of the town depends on the tunnel below the airport runway, through which military equipment comes into the town. Is it true that a large new tunnel is being built, through which trucks also will be able to pass? Is this project necessary if you really intend to breach the encirclement?

[Karavelic] This is a figment of Serbian propaganda. Karadzic uses these lies in order to suggest to his people that everything is under control and that Sarajevo will be blocked and divided for a long time yet to come, so that we need a large tunnel. The reverse will happen, though. Pale will soon be attacked by our forces! In 1994, the Sarajevo Corps liberated several hundred square kilometers in the strategically important area of Bjelasnica and Treskavica Mountains and the Crnorijecka Visoravan [Crnorijecki Plateau]. The encirclement was thereby somewhat loosened but only from the outside, until now.

[Maslo] Two French UN Protection Force soldiers were shot dead in front of the "Holiday Inn" Hotel on Sniper Avenue 10 days ago. After Mr. Leotard, the French defense minister, came to Sarajevo and the circumstances were cleared up, the B-H Army was accused of one of the murders. What is your comment?

[Karavelic] It is in someone's political interest to accuse our side of one of these murders. After the other UN member had been killed, Gen. Gotiard issued a statement in which he said that it had not been established who shot, which prompted me to suggest that he allow me and the chetnik commander, Gen. Milosevic, to come to the spot to mutually establish where the bullet came from. This proposal was naturally refused and our side was accused. It is absolutely senseless to claim that a member of our army shot. The discipline in the B-H Army is so rigid that it excludes any kind of disorderly conduct, let alone the cold-blooded murder of a soldier who was about to install protection from chetnik snipers at the place where, almost every day, two or three innocent civilians die.

[Maslo] Have the conditions for a breach of the encirclement been created?

[Karavelic] If the present trend continues and nothing unforeseen happens, I think the preconditions have been fulfilled.

Cooperation With Croats

[Maslo] Are there Croatian members in the 1st Corps?

[Karavelic] A considerable number of soldiers of Croatian nationality fight in the 1st Corps units. There is not a single unit without Croats. In some of our units, there are 11 or 12 percent Croats. There is also the "Kralj Tomislav" [King Tomislav] brigade, which joined the 1st Corps after the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] Staff for Sarajevo had been abandoned. Everything was solved without loss of life, so that the "Kralj Tvrtko" brigade has the same status today as all other Sarajevo Corps brigades. It performs its regular military tasks near Sarajevo. Also the HOS [Croatian Armed Forces] unit, which was independent before, joined the Croatian brigade. In the greater Sarajevo area—I mean the towns of Kiseljak, Kresevo and Vares—the cooperation between the Corps and HVO should improve, however. As a good example of cooperation, I would like to mention the 96th HVO regiment of Vares that helped us complete three offensives last year by lending us weapons, ammunition and personnel. We completed a joint operation that had extremely good results. It would not be bad if we always jointly attacked the Serbs, Mr. Karavelic said at the end of our interview.

Passports for 1,500 DM [German Marks]

Approximately 300,000 people live in Sarajevo today. The town used to be largely supplied through the tunnel below the airport, which was recently closed. Apart from that, the UN has organized the supplying of the town with humanitarian aid from the air.

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Supplying the town with food through the channel resulted in extremely high prices. A kilogram of potatoes, for example, costs 1.5 DM in Hrasnica, and it costs 6 DM or more in Sarajevo. A liter of gasoline costs 4 DM, and the well-known specialty from Bascarsija "Cevapcici" costs between 4 and 5 DM. Compared to the time not so long ago when a liter of gasoline cost between 50 and 70 DM these prices are considerably lower, though.

It is interesting to mention that Croatian passports are precious in Sarajevo today, because they enable their holders to enter a large number of European countries without a visa. They are sold at a price between 1,000 and 1,500 DM on the illegal market of passports.

The people GLOBUS spoke to claim that these passports are not documents forged in Sarajevo but that they are imported from Croatia!

Action on the Treskavica Mountain

The 1st Corps units succeeded in conquering Treskavica Mountain behind the town some 20 days ago, which enabled them to infiltrate deeper into the Serbian lies and approach Trnovo, one of the most important Serbian strongholds in central Bosnia, whose fall would enable the Bosnian Army to control the road between Sarajevo and Gorazde. The conquered Treskavica Mountain lies south of the capital, and the last Serbian position on Djoka peak was allegedly taken, by a deployment of infantry units only, without artillery support.

The last Serbian position on Treskavica Mountain was liberated in a quick Bosnian commando action on the night of 14 to 15 April, but the information was kept secret for a long time. It was the Serbs themselves who finally reported the fall of Treskavica!

Even the B-H Army General Staff assessments about a possible breach of the encirclement around Sarajevo made after the success on Treskavica show that in spite of the 1st Corps ize (a brigade has between 3,500 and 4,5000 soldiers), which has considerably more personnel in Sarajevo than the Serbian forces do, the Bosnian forces are still not able to breach the encirclement in the most important, southwesterly direction and completely clear the main road between Sarajevo and Konjic, which leads to Mostar, and through the Neretva River valley to the sea.

The concentration of Serbian forces is very high in this sector: Almost a half of the total number of 12,000 soldiers in the encirclement are thought to be deployed in that sector. The Serbian Sarajevo brigade is situated around the airport in Butmir and in Lukovica; the Rajlovac and the Vogosca brigades as well as parts of the elite Serbian unit, the so-called Zastitni Puk [Protection Regiment], are defending the direction toward Konjic.

Following the success on Treskavica Mountain, plans are now being made to conquer the Serbian strongholds on Jahorina Mountain, which will make it possible to cut off the above mentioned Serbian forces in the section between Sarajevo and Konjic.

The Treskavica operation probably motivated the Croatian-Muslim forces in the Bihac pocket. The B-H Army 5th Corps and HVO units have conquered the 1646 marking on the Pljesivica Mountain. It is an extremely important position where the Croatian Radio-Television tower, a former JNA radar station from which the whole northwestern Croatia can be observed, and a radio relay link for the transmission of military communications, are situated. It is completely unclear why the Serbs, led by Gen. Celebic, permitted the loss of such an important position.

During the last day of our visit to Sarajevo, we visited, accompanied by Gen. Karavelic, one of the most forward positions on the northwestern approach to the town, in Sokolje, where the 112th brigade of the 1st Corps is stationed. This brigade defends the Muslim positions from the Serbian Rajlovac brigade, which is situated in the Butile garrison, approximately 600 meters in front of the forward lines of the 112d brigade. We observed heavy artillery neither in this brigade nor in other Bosnian Army units.

In contrast, Serbs at positions around Sarajevo still have approximately 700 assorted artillery weapons, 293 of which are allegedly controlled by the UN Protection Force, but UN officers admit they are often used by the Serbs.

British UN Base Comes Under Serb Tank Attack

LD3004083795 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0808 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bosnian Serb forces fired three tank rounds at British troops at a United Nations post in central Bosnia, but no peacekeepers were injured in the attack, a UN spokesman said today.

A Bosnian Serb T-34 tank targeted the British UN base in Maglaj with one shell hitting an observation post and another slamming into the school which houses the British troops, spokesman Lt-Col Gary Coward told Reuters.

Lt-Col Coward said peacekeepers assessed yesterday's action as a direct attack on the UN base. The UN peacekeeping mission planned to lodge a protest with the Bosnian Serbs, he added.

Heavy fighting has flared in northwest Bosnia in the Bihac enclave over the weekend as UN officials planned a last-ditch attempt to persuade the warring factions to extend the current ceasefire, which expires at noon tomorrow.

UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi was due to meet leaders of the Muslim-led Bosnian Government and separatist Bosnian Serbs today to try to renew the truce.

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U.S. Expected To Help With Financial Expertise

LD2804223495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. Treasury is preparing to appoint financial experts in order to help the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina in organizing the financial sector in the Federation. John Menzies, charge d'affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, informed Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina about this, a statement from the prime minister's office says. Professor Robert Kraychuk from the University of Kentucky is expected to be charged with this task.

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Krajina Serb Killed on Zagreb-Belgrade Highway

LD2804223195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2159 GMT 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Okucani, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—A citizen of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] was killed on the Belgrade-Zagreb highway just after 1900 this evening, a statement issued by the RSK Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Okucani says. He is Tihomir Blagojevic (25) from the village of Smrtici near Okucani.

The murder happened at the Slaven gas station near Nova Gradiska. The statement does not give any further details about this tragic event.

The Okucani police has warned citizens not to go to Croatia and to refrain from making any sudden moves. A sharp protest has been lodged with the UN peacekeeping forces. It has also been demanded from them to start an urgent investigation into the incident.

Suspect Detained

LD2904115995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0705 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Okucani, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—After the murder at about 1700 GMT yesterday of Tihomir Blagojevic, aged 25, from the village of Smrtici near Okucani, at the Slaven petrol station on the Nova Gradiska section of the highway, Croatian police closed this part of the highway to traffic, UN civilian police members said last night.

During the night representatives of civilian, military, and police authorities of western Slavonia met representatives of the UN civilian police, sector highway. At the meeting a UN representative said that a person of Croatian nationality, who committed the murder, was arrested, but the name of the person was not disclosed, the Okucani secretariat for internal affairs [SUP] announced this morning.

At about 2100 last night the Okucani SUP requested UN intervention with Croatia so that the highway could be closed to avoid any further incidents. UN authorities are conducting an investigation into the circumstances which led to the murder. Blagojevic's body is to be handed over to the Serb side today, on a separation line near Dragalici.

This morning the command of the Western Slavonian Corps condemned the crime, saying that it blatantly violates the trade agreement [between Croatia and Serb Krajina] and jeopardizes the safety of traffic and passengers in the part of the highway under Croatian police control.

Martic Blames UNPROFOR

LD2904170395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—The brutal murder of a citizen of Krajina on the Croatian-controlled section of the highway clearly demonstrates the reality that is being offered to the Serbs by new Croatian democracy, and confirms the fears we expressed in the wake of the negotiations on opening communications, the information service of Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] stresses in a statement on the events and incidents on the Novska-Lipovac highway.

The statement also recalls Krajina's views presented during the negotiations "that hasty moves in the normalization of relations which do not correspond with the real state of relations between Croatia and the RSK can inflict irreparable damage on the peace process and threaten the fragile cease-fire."

Krajina, the statement points out, granted its approval to the opening of the highway because it had received assurances from international mediators to the the effect that UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] would guarantee RSK citizens safety, but "unfortunately, the peace force has again proved itself to be incapable of achieving this, particularly so on Croatian territory."

The response from the RSK president's office also draws attention to UNPROFOR's failures in this case "such as its failure to close the highway in the wake of the killing, something that facilitated the escalation of the incident on the road they controlled."

This enabled the Croatian authorities, the statement stresses, to commit repression against innocent citizens of the RSK. On this occasion the peace force again failed to react, thus "demonstrating that it cannot provide any protection for our citizens on the highway."

Condemning the crimes and the repression being committed against RSK citizens on the Croatian section of the highway, the statement demands that UN representatives and Croatian authorities "immediately release all the persons who have been taken hostage."

Forces Continue Attacks on Uniste

LD3004114795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1032 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—Croatian armed forces have continued to violate the cease-fire agreement, the press office of the Krajina Serb Army's [SVK] general staff reported today.

From their positions on Mt Dinara they have continued their attacks on the Uniste area, which has been pounded with some 70 120-mm mortar shells in the past 24 hours. There were clashes of lesser intensity on the Lika section of the front, and 30 Croatian Army vehicles were spotted arriving in the village of Dabar on the northern-Dalmatian front, east of the Peruca lake.

On other parts of the front intensive regrouping and gathering of "enemy forces" was noticed, i.e. of the Croatian Defense Council and Muslim army forces. SVK members adequately responded to all enemy actions against selected targets, the statement said.

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RSK: Several Wounded

LD2904141295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—After last night's murder of citizen Tihomir Blagojevic, aged 25, from the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] at the Slaven gas station on the Novska-Lipovac section of the highway in Croatia, several other incidents have occurred, the information service of the Krajina Ministry of Interior reported today.

According to the statement "a number of people have been wounded in these incidents on both sides of the Novska-Lipovac section of the highway."

The RSK Interior Ministry report also says that several vehicles have been stopped and several people detained on the above section of the highway. Intensive consultations and negotiations are under way for the liberation of all detained persons, the statement says, but the highway will remain closed to all traffic until further notice. [passage omitted]

Army Attacks Serbs Along Zagreb-Belgrade Highway

LD0105073895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0645 GMT 1 May 95

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Okucani, 1 May (SRNA)—Colonel General Milan Celeketic, commander of the general staff of the Serb Army of Krajina, confirmed this morning that at 0530 the Croatian Army launched a heavy artillery and infantry attack on Serb positions along the Belgrade-Zagreb highway with the focus on the Jasenovac-Dragalic line.

According to Gen. Celeketic, last night, members of the army and of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs brought out heavy artillery and hardware from collection points under the supervision [nadzor] of the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] Argentinian, Jordanian, and Nepalese battalions.

The chief of general staff warned that UNPROFOR members again abandoned their positions thus enabling new Croatian aggression against Serb areas of Western Slavonia.

"People of Western Slavonia and of the republic of Serb Krajina are determined to defend the territory under attack," the general said.

Army Attacks Pakrac Region

AU0105074995 Paris AFP in English 0736 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 1 (AFP)—The Croatian Army launched an attack Monday against separatist Serb forces at a front line monitored by UN soldiers and three UN troops were seriously wounded, a UN spokeswoman said here.

At 6:00 a.m. (0400 GMT), a Croatian armored company penetrated the buffer zone in the region of Pakrac in western Croatia, spokeswoman Susan Manuel said. In violent artillery duels, three Jordanian UN troops were seriously wounded.

The fighting was continuing at 9:15 a.m. (0715 GMT), added Manuel, who is spokeswoman for the UN western sector in Croatia. A four-month-old cease-fire was due to run out in neighbouring Bosnia on Monday, where separatist Serbs are fighting the Bosnian Government.

Action To Secure Highway

LD0105082195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At 0530, forces of peace and order of the Republic of Croatia launched an action designed to secure free traffic and prevent terrorist attacks on passangers along the section of the Zagreb-Lipovac motorway between Novska and Nova Gradiska, the public relations department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia has announced. This action is localized and of limited scope.

Following attacks by armed groups on 28 and 29 April 1995 against passangers on a section of the Zagreb-Lipovac motorway, early this morning Serbs from the occupied areas carried out a fresh terrorist attack on a private vehicle near the village of Ozegovci on the Pakrac-Pozega road. Two people were wounded in this ambush. The United Nations Confidence Restoration Operations [UNCRO] was promptly informed about the action of the Croatian police.

The Republic of Croatia wishes to prevent further terrorist ambush actions and secure normal traffic along the highway in order to protect its citizens.

With this limited action having the aim outlined above, the Republic of Croatia does not wish to jeopardize its policy of peaceful reintegration of the temporarily occupied areas and of normalizing relations. It wishes to continue the peace process on the basis of the agreement of 2 December 1994. The Republic of Croatia guarantees full personal security and legal protection for citizens of Serb nationality in the area of the action by the police forces, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia said.

Troops, 20 Tanks Involved

AU0105084795 Paris AFP in English 0826 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 1 (AFP)—The Croatian Army launched an attack Monday against separatist Serb forces at a frontline monitored by UN soldiers and three UN troops were seriously wounded, a UN spokeswoman said here.

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At 6:00 a.m. (0400 GMT), a Croatian armored company penetrated the buffer zone in the region of Pakarc in western Croatia, spokeswoman Susan Manuel said. She added that three Jordanian UN troops were seriously wounded during fierce artillery duels that were continuing at 9:15 a.m. (0715 GMT). The UN soldiers were injured by two shells that landed in their camp where some 700 peacekeepers are stationed.

"This attack is a Croat military action," Manuel said. "We received overnight information from the Croats that they would conduct a military activity, but (they) did not say why." She said several hundred Croatian troops were taking part in the operation and were backed by at least 20 tanks. But by early morning the troops had not entered Serb-held territory, she added.

The Serbs, for their part, captured early Monday 26 Croatian police officers stationed along the Zagreb-Belgrade highway that runs through Serb-held territory, Manuel said. She added that the United Nations had withdrawn all of its peacekeepers who had been deployed along that route to ensure the safety of commuters. The flare-up in fighting comes as a four-month-old cease-fire was due to run out in neighbouring Bosnia at noon Monday.

Veterans Urge Tudjman

AU0105084895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 1 May 95

[Report by Nada al-Issa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tensions escalated when the rebel Serbs yesterday again closed the [Zagreb-Lipovac] highway and, at approximately 0200 [0000 GMT] this morning, opened fire on a vehicle bearing Osijek license plates, injuring one person and kidnapping the other. It was then that the Croatian police intervened in order to, as the statement by the Croatian Defense Ministry says, restore peace and order.

Croatian Radio confirms that powerful mortar attacks and clashes between the Croatian police and the so-called 18th Corps of the Serbian army are underway on the Pakfac-Pozega road. It is not specified, however, whether this is a corps of Martic's paramilitary or of the army of the so-called Yugoslavia.

We have learned from the UN sources that all this started the day before yesterday when a Croatian citizen at a petrol pump on the free Croatian territory near Pakrac stabbed to death a Serb from the UN Protected Area who wanted to buy gasoline. Upon learning this, the Serbs from the occupied Croatian territories brought over machineguns and started to fire on everything that moved along the highway. Several people were injured, however, the exact figure of casualties is not known.

The Croatian media did not disclose this information, however, Croatian Radio in nearly all morning broadcasts carried messages of support [word indistinct] the heroes of the patriotic war to President Tudjman in which they demand a resolute action for the liberation of the occupied territories parallel to a message to the president that it will be held very much against him and the fighters of the patriotic war will be very much disappointed if he only goes halfway (?in the punishment) or if a military action is abandoned.

We have learned that several UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] soldiers were injured in the shooting between the Croats and the Serbs on the Pakrac-Pozega road. The information about possible casualties among the clashing sides is not available. Croatian Radio only claims that everything is under the control of the Croatian forces, however, it does admit that the so-called 18th Corps of the aggressor's army is offering a staunch resistance.

We have learned unofficially that the commander of the Croatian Army, General Janko Bobetko is in a permanent contact with the representatives of the UNPROFOR headquarters.

SVK Combat Ready

LD0105085095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0738 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 1 May (TANJUG)—At 0530 this morning, Croatian Armed Forces launched an attack on Western Slavonia, the information service of the General Staff of the Serb Army of Krajina [SVK] announced this morning.

Units of the SVK Western Slavonia Corps accepted the challenge and are carrying out their defense actions in an organized way, the statement says. The SVK General Staff has been monitoring movements by the enemy forces and duly took necessary measures by raising the degree of combat readiness of its units.

At the same time, the SVK General Staff continued to warn the peace forces of a possible aggression by the Croatian Army especially after the recent incidents on the highway, the SVK General Staff says in its statement.

Army Begins General Assault

LD0105094295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0846 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Okucani, 1 May (TANJUG)—At 0600 this morning, forces of the Republic of Croatia began an all-out assault on Western Slavonia, along all lines of the front with the Serb Army of Krajina, the press center of the Western Slavonia Corps of the Serb Army of Krajina reports.

All frontline positions of the Krajina defense are launching artillery fire. The Serb forces refrained from retaliating for one hour, attempting with UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mediation to reach an agreement with Croatia on a cease-fire, the press release says.

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The Western Slavonia Corps went into operation at about 0700. All defense lines are firm and stable, the command of the Western Slavonia Corps reports, and requests that the population should stay in shelters. The UNPROFOR forces are blockaded in their bases and for the time being are undertaking no activities.

Preparations are under way for a central commission sitting, which is expected to be held during the day with the aim of putting a stop to the hostilities.

Troops to Serb-Held Ocucani

AU0105101495 Paris AFP in English 0951 GMT 1 May 95

[by Michel Moutot]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, May 1 (AFP)—Croatian forces launched an attack Monday against separatist Serbs at a frontline monitored by UN soldiers and three UN troops were seriously wounded, a UN spokeswoman said here.

At 6:00 a.m. (0400 GMT), a Croatian armored company penetrated the buffer zone in the region of Pakarc in central Croatia, spokeswoman Susan Manuel said. The Croatian Government said the action was a police move to safeguard a key highway. Manuel said three Jordanian UN troops were seriously wounded during fierce artillery duels when two shells landed in a camp where some 700 peacekeepers are stationed.

The attack comes as tension in neighboring Bosnia, where separatist Serbs fight the mainly Moslem Sarajevo government, is high since a four-month-old cease-fire there expires Sunday. "This attack is a Croat military action," Manuel said. "We received overnight information from the Croats that they would conduct a military activity, but (they) did not say why." She said several hundred Croatian troops were taking part in the operation and were backed by at least 20 tanks. But by early morning the troops had not entered Serb-held territory, she added.

Manuel later said the Croatian Army had sent large numbers of reinforcements to back up its offensive. "Two thousand Croat troops were seen going from Poljana to (the Serb-held town of) Ocucani, but I don't think they could take it (the town)," Manuel said. "For the moment, we've not seen reinforcement from Bosnia to the Serbs," she said. [passage omitted]

The Serbs, for their part, captured early Monday 26 Croatian police officers stationed along the Zagreb-Belgrade highway that runs through Serb-held territory, Manuel said. Manuel said the United Nations had withdrawn all of its peacekeepers who had been deployed along that route to ensure the safety of commuters. She said UN troops charged with monitoring the cease-fire lines had taken refuge in their bunkers. [passage omitted]

UN: Attack 'Unprovoked'

LD0105120395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1137 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 1 May (TANJUG)—Alun Roberts, spokesman for the UN peacekeeping forces in Sector South [southern Croatia], said at a news conference in Knin today that a meeting is scheduled to take place at Zagreb's Pleso airport at 1400 [1200 GMT] today of the central [Croatian-Serb] joint military commission. In addition to UN representatives, the meeting will be attended by Borislav Mikelic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina government, and Hrvoje Sarinic, head of Tudjman's office.

Roberts confirmed this morning's reports of an attack by Croatian forces in Western Slavonia. According to him, the Croatian Army is advancing in the direction of Okucani in two columns of 1,500 people in total from east and west.

Roberts said that at about 0600 [0400 GMT] this morning, the Croatian Army had attacked the peace forces' observation posts in the regions of Gospic, Otocac, and Perusic [southern Croatia] He said at this news conference that Croatian forces had taken four observation posts while the Blue Helmets of the Jordanian and Czech battalions had defended five observation posts.

This attack, as Roberts said, was totally unprovoked. The members of the peace force have been ordered to defend themselves from further Croatian attacks, Roberts added. Members of the Croatian forces also entered the separation zone near Divoselo and Citluk this morning.

The Supreme Defense Council is holding a meeting in Knin.

Council Takes Measures To Prevent Incidents

LD2904160595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Immediately after President Tudjman's return from Switzerland, a special session of the Defense and National Security Council was held in the presidential palace in Zagreb. The council discussed the incident on the Zagreb-Lipovac highway, and was told that an investigation has been launched to establish the circumstances in which the incident took place and its consequences, especially the condition of those who were wounded. Guidelines were issued for cooperation with the UN Confidence Restoration Operation [UNCRO] leadership, and measures for reopening the Zagreb-Lipovac highway were agreed. These measures should prevent any further incidents.

Military Success Predicted in Occupied Areas

AU3004204395 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 95 p 4

[Article by Mario Galic: "Croatian Forces Near Knin"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Only a month ago, Martic and his "Krajina brothers" tried hard to convince the international powers that the UN Protection Force should stay in the occupied Croatian territories. They claimed that otherwise it would mean a war that would set the whole of the Balkans on fire. They believed that the role of the UN peacekeepers would remain as it was, which would have meant further protection of their creation. They did not even envision a change in the UN mandate. Resolution 981 not only changed the name of the peacekeeping forces in Croatia, it significantly changed their role too. The disappearance of protection zones in their present form and the announcement that the [Croatian] borders would be monitored [kontrolirati] by international forces astonished the Knin leadership. The recent decision by President Tudjman to demobilize 35,000 soldiers convinced the rebel Serbs that Croatia wants to avoid any large-scale conflict before the tourist season. Consequently, Knin policy has completely changed in just one month. Now, they are threatening to oust UNCRO, even the closing of the highway between Zagreb and Belgrade near Okucani. In order to substantiate the seriousness of their intentions, they fired a missile against Karlovac with the aim of testing Croatian readiness to respond.

The Dangerous Krajina Serb Game

This is how the "Krajina" Serbs started an extremely dangerous game that could have disastrous effects for them. If the Croatian Army goes through with the announced demobilization, it will still have enough power to completely crush the "Krajina" paramilitary formations in just a few days. Owing to the well-organized mobilization system, Croatian units can be filled within 48 hours. The Croatian Army could have more than 200,000 armed soldiers in just two days if necessary. This is "only" four times more than the maximum the so-called army of the republic of Serbian Krajina can achieve. This shows that the "Krajina" leaders are playing a dangerous game. That is not all, though.

According to some estimations, the Serbian paramilitary formations in Croatia have around 200 tanks, without the Sector East that is protected by regular Serbian forces. Around 500 heavy artillery barrels have to be added to this number. These numbers rise and fall depending on military aid supplies from Serbia and also depend on Serbian losses on the fronts around Bihac. This could give the impression that the Serbian forces are powerful if there were not several other factors. First, there is a well-equipped and highly motivated Croatian Army, ready to finally bring everything to an end, on the other side of the frontline. According to what some high-ranking UN Protection Force officials claim, the Croatian Army has approximately 400 tanks at the moment. This number is often mentioned by the Belgrade press too, but with the purpose of scaring the disobedient "Krajina Serbs." If we assume that this number is too high, one thing remains certain, though, and this is the number of 178 tanks that the Croatian Army had at the end of 1994—27 of them were modern M-84 tanks. This is data from December 1994. Four months have passed since then, and the Croatian people have in the meantime learned that Croatia itself manufactures these tanks on the assembly line. If five of them per month are manufactured in Slavonski Brod, the number of M-84's has risen by 20 pieces since December, which means that their total number is 47. Since there have been no large-scale military operations in the meantime, in which the Croatian Army could have lost a large number of tanks, their present number must be somewhat fewer than 200. Apart from the tanks, M-80 combat infantry vehicles used to be manufactured in the plants where these tanks are assembled today. The manufacture of these vehicles has not been resumed, so that it can be assumed that the monthly production rate of tanks in Croatia exceeds five pieces. In the same report, the Croatian Army published that it possessed 1098 heavy artillery pieces. Their number has also considerably risen since that time, which can be assessed according to almost daily announcements to the inhabitants of Zagreb on the testing of weapons. The intensity of explosions that can be heard in half the city prove that large-caliber artillery weapons are being tested.

Knin Half-Encircled

Apart from the constant strengthening of the Croatian Army, the situation in the field does not speak in favor of the "Krajina" Serbs either. Especially "dangerous" is the situation in western Slavonija. The opening of the highway [between Zagreb and Belgrade] enabled people to relatively easy cross the border between the occupied and the free Croatian territory, which possibility was at first taken advantage of by fuel smugglers, who were soon followed by "ordinary" people. Having convinced themselves that communication with both Croats and the Croatian leadership is normal, the Serbs from western Slavonija are increasingly expressing the wish to become reintegrated into Croatia and dissociating themselves from the idea of an imaginary "Greater Serbia." Apart from that, the occupied territory of western Slavonia is surrounded on three sides by free territory, so that it resembles a small peninsula. Even "in better times" it would be difficult to defend it. To make things worse for Okucani leaders, apart from being protected by local Serbs, this area should have been protected by the strong 1st Corps forces of Banja Luka. And the 1st Corps is presently torn between Vlasic Mountain, Doboj and western Bosnia, so that it increasingly loses both people and equipment. Sending large forces to western Slavonia is an unimaginable effort for the 1st Corps right now.

Therefore, the games about the closing of the highway are dangerous only for the Serbs in and around Okucani, even more so because all high-ranking Croatian officials, especially General Bobetko, have repeatedly announced decisive action if the Serbs should close the highway again. Judging by the present situation, several hours of fierce fighting would bring a final solution to both the highway issue and the occupied area of western Slavonia.

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The "capital," Knin, is also in an increasingly difficult position. Here also, danger has come from an unexpected quarter. The Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units liberated the Livanjsko Polje [Livno Field] and came as close as 20 km to Bosansko Grahovo and to the road connecting Knin with Banja Luka and Belgrade. This HVO success was unpleasant for "Krajina," but still did not directly endanger Serbian forces deployed around Knin. Then the Croatian Defense Council started liberating dominant Dinara Mountain peaks. The Troglav peak, from which the area around the Peruca Lake is controlled, was liberated first. After that followed the Veliki Bat. The roads leading from Bosansko Grahovo toward the Serbs' rear positions at the edge of the Livanjsko Polje, as well as the town of Livno, can clearly be seen from this peak. The reconnaissance HVO units have thereby reached an excellent position from which they can aim long-range artillery fire at Serbian positions around Livanjsko Polje and military targets in Bosansko Grahovo. In contrast, Serbian artillery can now fire artillery shells only at random without knowing precisely where they fall. HVO forces surrounded the village of Uniste too, the liberation of which is only a question of the most favorable moment. Although the Croatian forces can clearly see Knin from the present positions, their next aim could, in spite of that, be the 1831 meter high Dinara peak. By liberating Uniste and the Dinara peak, the Croatian forces would completely control Dinara Mountain, which would enable them to half-encircle the occupied Dalmatian territory together with Croatian forces deployed on Velebit Mountain. Should it be necessary to apply a military solution, these positions would enable them to completely cut off Knin from the rest of the occupied territories in both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would considerably diminish Croatian losses and bring conflicts more quickly to an end.

Babic on UN Resolution, Highway 'Incidents'

LD2904164895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—Milan Babic, foreign minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said in Knin today that "Croatian hopes that the UN mission will become an instrument of a Greater Croatian policy and will intervene against the RSK on behalf of Croatia," have not been realized by the latest UN Security Council resolution.

The scaling down of the number of peacekeepers and the possible arrival of a Russian battalion in the Knin area mean that "nothing has essentially changed in the mandate of the UN forces and its implementation in the RSK," Babic said. He said that this was also a result of Krajina's consistent policy in protecting the Serb nation's right to sovereignty and the RSK's principled stance that all disputes should be settled in a peaceful manner.

Commenting on the incidents on the Zagreb-Belgrade highway, and on Mount Dinara, Babic said that they indicated that "one cannot trust Croatia. It is a message to everyone in Krajina to be more cautious and to rely on their own resources," he said in conclusion.

Tudjman, Galbraith Discuss UNCRO

LD3004100995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the presidential palace Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has received U.S. Ambassador in Zagreb Peter Galbraith at the latter's request. They discussed a number of questions regarding the regulation of the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] mandate. The president said Croatia is persevering in the consistent implementation of the Copenhagen, Washington, and UN agreements.

In connection with the incident on the [Zagreb-Belgrade] highway, Croatia—while adhering to its policy of peaceful settlement and the normalization of relations—expressed the hope that normal traffic will be resumed and any further incidents prevented on the road, which is economically important for Croatia.

Japan's Kono, Akashi View Bosnian Cease-Fire

OW2904134095 Tokyo KYODO in English 1228 GMT 29 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, April 29 KYODO—Yasushi Akashi, the civilian head of the UN peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia, expressed hope Saturday [29 April] that the cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina will hold.

"I want to continue my efforts to uphold the cease-fire agreement," Akashi told Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono in a meeting at the UN Protection Force headquarters in the Croatian capital of Zagreb. He also voiced optimism that an all-out war can be avoided even if the cease-fire agreement in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, which expires this month, is not extended.

"There is little possibility that the conflict will escalate into a real full-blown war," Akashi said. He said in his efforts to reach a solution to the ethnic conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he aims at integrating the opinions of all warring parties instead of forcing a solution on them.

Kono, who arrived in the croatian capital of Zagreb on Friday for talks with Croatian national leaders and officials of the United Nations, promised Akashi Japan's "utmost support" for his peace efforts. He also pledged 12.5 million dollars in food aid, Japanese officials said.

Kono's visit to Croatia, which will last until Sunday, is the first by a Japanese leader since the outbreak of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia in 1991. Besides meeting Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic and Foreign Minister Mate

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Granic, Kono also plans to meet with leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina during his stay in Croatia to discuss Japan's contribution to international efforts toward achieving peace in the region.

Kono Gets Promise of Help for UN

OW3004033395 Tokyo KYODO in English 0227 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, April 29 KYODO—Prime Minister Nikica Valentic on Saturday [29 April] assured Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono of Croatian cooperation with United Nations peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia, Japanese officials said.

During the meeting, Kono told Valentic that all disputes must be solved through talks, the officials said. Valentic replied that he appreciates the cooperation of Yasushi Akashi, the civilian Japanese head of the UN Peacekeeping Operations in the former Yugoslavia and that Croatia will do its utmost to assist and support the operation, the officials said.

They said Valentic also indicated Croatia will back Japan's bid to gain a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Earlier, Kono inspected a refugee camp near the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina and presented stationery and other supplies, including drawing paper and crayons, for refugee children.

Kono said Japan also plans to supply more than 500,000 dollars worth of medical supplies. Kono arrived in the Croatian capital of Zagreb on Friday for talks with Croatian national leaders and UN Officials.

On Sunday morning, he is due to have separate meetings in Zagreb with Ejup Ganic, vice president of the governing presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Kono will leave for Hungary in the afternoon.

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Union-Organized Protest Meeting Begins in Skopje

AU2704161695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 95

[Report by POLITIKA EKSPRES correspondent Aleksandar Nikolic Pisarov—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Meeting of the Hungry organized by the Union of Independent and Autonomous Trade Unions of Macedonia [UNASM] began at Macedonia Square in Skopje today, and will last until the workers' demands are met. Of an announced 100,000 workers, only about 2,000 gathered here. The meeting's organizers blamed the government and the police for the poor response, saying they prevented the workers from attending the meeting. As was said from the rostrum, the roads leading to Skopje have been blocked and a number of trains that were to transport workers to the meeting have been stopped.

UNASM secretary general (Atanas Lefterov) has accused the Macedonian Government of being deaf and blind to the workers' demands. The UNASM has sent 19 demands to the government, including one regarding the abolishment of the Law on Privatization, which has left several tens of thousand of families without even a bare subsistence.

Of the 19 demands announced, only two have been sent to the government from the meeting: to tender its resignation, as it has been leading the state into disaster and has destroyed the economy and agriculture; and to immediately form a caretaker government that would organize new elections within three months.

In the declaration that was read out at the beginning of the [word indistinct] meeting, all workers and citizens of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] were called upon to immediately start a general strike and to join the Caravan of the Hungry that has been traveling through Macedonian towns.

Union Protest Meeting Ends in Divided Leadership

AU2804155695 Skopje MIC in English 28 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The "meeting of the hungry" held at the Skopje city square yesterday and attended by several thousand demonstrators, ended with a division inside the leadership of the Union of Independent and Autonomous Syndicates [trade unions] of Macedonia (UIASM). Speaking from the stand, the leader of the Union Atanas Lefterov demanded the resignation of the government and the formation of an expert government which would organize early elections in the country within three months.

Most of the members of the executive board of the union dissociated themselves from these demands, who, according to their announcement, held the opinion that in the talks with the prime minister and president of the state, solutions were offered for most of the revised demands of the Union. These demands should be realized through concrete programs and the laws for privatization, which also means support of the reform course.

The announcement says that "without having a clear vision about the character of yesterday's meeting and the role of the union in it, as well as the acceptance to step beyond the tabled demands, most of the members of the executive board are dissociating themselves from the holding of the meeting, and for any eventual mixing of the union with the political demands, the responsibility will fall on individuals."

The executive board of the union is of the opinion that the interests of the workers can be protected only by building an independent union movement, and the program and statute of the union confirm specifically that.

The Macedonian press says that the meeting started with the recognizable iconography of IMRO-DPMNU [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], by shouting out slogans against the current government and carrying anti-government signs. The leader Atanas Lefterov announced the beginning of the general strike of all workers, which should allegedly last until their goal is accomplished. In his speech, Lefterov also said that some citizens from the provinces were prevented from coming. In the interview for "A1" TV from Skopje, Lefterov dismissed allegations that the meeting had a political background, saying that the "demands for resignation of the government came as a normal reaction, as it refused to meet, in any way, with the representatives of this union, and that they certainly would not demonstrate in front of a fishing club, but in front of the government." He asked the reporters "not to write that the strike is political, as that inflicts great damages to this movement."

At around 1600 [1400 GMT] hours, the demonstrators headed in front of the building of the Union of Syndicates of Macedonia, where the president Zivko Tolevski was demanded to resign. The police cordon did not allow them to enter the building, so it did not come to a meeting with Tolevski at all.

Following this, Lefterov addressed the gathered citizens, accusing the president of the executive board for organizing the strike Stavre Janev of "workers' treason." Lefterov said "this is only the first stage in the protest," and that it would "continue on with the development of other union dimensions, until our demands are fulfilled."

Lefterov assessed the meeting as "successful" and, at the same time, admitted that it had come to a division inside the leadership of the union. On the square, in front of the rest of the citizens, Lefterov also announced "aggressiveness in the future actions of this movement."

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'University' Trial Said Exacerbating Division

AU2804134295 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 28 Apr 95 p 6

[Commentary by M. Jovanovski: "Division Multiplies Problems"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Never proclaim anyone an enemy if you cannot defeat him." Two days ago, one of the organizers of the protest by Albanian citizens on the occasion of the trial against the initiators of the Tetovo "university" ended his speech with this old Albanian proverb, adding that Fadil Sulejmani is invincible because he has the people with him.

The impact of this adage uttered on this occasion was extremely dangerous, because since the first day of the promotion of the idea for opening the so-called university in Albanian until today there have been persistent efforts to polarize the public in the state on a national basis. All pleas for coexistence, for reaching out to others, and so on, become invalid when such "wisdom" is uttered, including the one about the "exhausted balloon" [reference to a statement by Minister Frckovski], because they actually signify greater mutual intolerance and imply winners and losers. This horrible polarization was fully confirmed at the beginning of the trial against Sulejmani and Fejziu, in which both sides, conditionally speaking, engaged journalists as main witnesses. The prosecution put Macedonian journalists on its list, while the defense invited journalists of Albanian origin.

The situation is even more horrible because the executive power identifies itself with the judiciary, leaving no possibilities for taking into account the facts presented in court. The prognosis is that the initiators of the Tetovo "university" will be "100 percent convicted," or as PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians] leader Arben Xhaferri—whose party was apparently the strongest supporter of the idea for a university in Albanian—said: "The whole trial will be nothing but a farce."

The question is what is going to happen if the District Court in Tetovo decides to release Sulejmani and Fejziu? Will there not be commentaries that such a decision had been taken because of the pressure of the events in Tetovo—that is: the protest that was attended by several thousand citizens of Albanian nationality? Undoubtedly this would be another assumption that endangers the independence of the court.

The assessment of the Albanian political parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] that this is not a court but rather a political process, cannot be sustained, because in that case it would mean that the authorities have transformed an educational problem in the state into a political one. The fact that this educational problem imperils the laws and the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia does not mean anything to the initiators of the idea for an Albanian "university" in Tetovo.

It is a very dangerous thesis to proclaim that someone is invincible because he is backed by the "people," and it certainly does not contribute to the declaration that all problems must be solved through dialogue. On the contrary, it makes room for new polarization: The other side can contest this thesis by a more numerous group people and thus show its own invincibility. Such statements certainly make points for the speakers among the voters, but are definitely detrimental to the country in which these speakers live and struggle for power.

On the other side, the authority has contributed to the polarization because it did not find it necessary to meet the initiators of the "university" upon their request and indicate the possible consequences of such an initiative, to discuss alternative ways for meeting the educational demands of the Albanians and simply make an attempt to regulate the matters within the framework of the system. The result of making communications and statements and avoiding being present at the site of the problem is certainly the present outcome, and it is definitely not a solution but an indefinite prolongation of the problem.

Tetovo: Albanian Protest, Sulejmani Trial Viewed

AU2904125595 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 28 Apr 95 p 16

[Commentary by Vladimir Jovanovski: "Police State—No!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Perhaps the reason why the Albanian protest in Tetovo on 26 April was not received as loudly as it usually is in this Polog town is because the public is fed up with the "Albanian University," or maybe because it was competing against the current and forthcoming strikes of the "black marketeers," as well as the trade unionists of the two opposed groups. Normally, everything would have been a lot different if—God save us—there had been a serious incident as well as certain assumptions (enraged masses of people, angry policemen); fortunately, however, this did not happen. The interethnic seismograph registered only small activity this time in the ethnically most sensitive area in the republic.

However, this should not lead us to believe that the situation is returning to normal and that time will slowly but surely erase all the unpleasant memories of the events in Mala Recica and Poroj (as well as all the others in which there were clashes between the police and the Albanians). With the closing of the "University" buildings and its main promoters, particularly "director" Fadil Sulejmani, it is difficult to say that the "Tetovo University" case has come to a close. Our Albanian colleagues tell us that their political parties are resolute in their intention to keep the subject of Albanian education permanently open. The protest on the occasion of the trial against Fadil Sulejmani and Milaim Fejziu on 26 April was another proof of this.

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The protest itself was exceptionally well organized. It even appeared that the small incident between two older Albanians was intentional, in order to interrupt traffic and cause a greater uproar in front of the Communal Court. At 1100 exactly, just after the mentioned incident, people began to gather. At 1200 the leaders of the political parties and organizations that organized the protest came out of the court, followed by a several-hundred-meter-long line of people who came from the mosque at 1230, carrying numerous posters and shouting Sulejmani's name and applauding Xhaferri. It was Xhaferri who was the center of attention, just like in the previous march in the Tetovo streets that was held right after the conflict in Mala Recica. He was the only one to address the auditorium in front of the Communal Court, after which he joined the masses, which was followed by a loud symbolic applause. He waved his hand, just like [Serbian actor] Bata Zivoinovic does in partisan films, to lead his compatriots to the town square.

On the floor—Xhaferri again! (It is well known that the leaders of the other Albanian opposition parties—the People's Democratic Party, the Party for Democratic Prosperity, National Unity, and the Social Democratic Action-Islamic Road, as well as organizations like the Albanian Association of Women—recognize the leading role of this politician and, in doing so, they do not fear for their own political identity.) With the assistance of journalists from Albanian editorial houses—it is not necessary to mention which language was used during the whole protest—we could "decipher" part of his messages to the demonstrators. Xhaferri said that "not only are Sulejmani and Fejziu on trial, but the whole Albanian people, Albanian advancement, and the Albanian idea," that "only the stupid could believe that the process of creating high-level Albanian educational institutions has been stopped," and that "you cannot cheat a hungry child with a toy." Finally he recommended to the Macedonians [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] that equality is the key to establishing peaceful relations between the "two nations." To foreign observers he recommended that they watch the "Macedonian nationalist paranoia directed against the Albanians."

Special efforts were carried out this time to make a better impression on the foreigners, representatives of various organizations, and journalists from the western media who were present. Unlike before, when slogans were mainly written in Albanian and rarely in Macedonian, a great number of them were in English: "We want education," and so on. It seems that the Albanian politicians are now trying to increase, as Xhaferri once said, the world's "awareness" for the Albanian University idea. Their (fully simplified) address was as follows: "The Albanian people is struggling for faculties in its own language in order to achieve its own educational level and the Macedonian police is beating them." Moreover, the "trial against Sulejmani and Fejzi, as was the trial against the so-called Albanian paramilitary soldiers, has been rigged."

The politicization of the trial against Sulejmani and Fejzi was exactly why we asked NDP Secretary Bedredin Ibrahimi, who once told us that he was one of the best lawyers in Tetovo, to make a statement. "The trial is political, simply because the government politicized it," he said. "Namely, instead of solving the indispensable need of the Albanians in Macedonia for education in their own mother tongue at all levels in the Ministry of Education, this is being done in the Interior Ministry. The negative relationship of other authorities has contributed to this situation—particularly the Assembly, because it has not yet adopted the law on university education even though the six-month deadline, as projected by constitutional law, has expired, which would anticipate that the Albanians have the right to be educated in their own mother tongue," says Mr. Ibrahimi.

If they try to persuade the foreigners in a similar way, then the process of their feelings in favor of the Albanian cause will not be that easy.

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Federal

Zagreb Accused of Ethnic Cleansing of Serbs

LD2704123695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1119 GMT 27 Apr 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 27 (TANJUG)—Mass crimes against and persecutions of Serbs, aimed at forming an ethnically cleansed Croatian territory, started right after the outbreak of Croatia's war of secession from the former Yugoslavia in 1991, said a Yugoslav report on human rights violations of Serbs in Croatia.

The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry has recently made the document entitled 'Memorandum on the violation of human and civil rights of the Serb people in the Republic of Croatia' and sent it to governments and international organizations, including those dealing with human rights protection. The United Nations will circulate the memorandum as an official document.

Ethnic cleansing of Serbs in Croatia did not include just killing. Serbs were also taken to camps and prisons, their homes were destroyed, they were forcibly evicted and dismissed, the memorandum said.

Within the ethnic cleansing campaign in western Slavonija, Serb villages were systematically torched and destroyed, the memorandum said. The document said at least 95 camps for Serb civilians and military personnel had been registered in Croatia, in which, like in the concentration camps of the 1941-1945 fascist independent state of Croatia, thousands of Serbs were tortured and killed.

According to information collected up to August 15, 1992 alone, 183 villages and ten towns were completely ethnically cleansed from Serbs and another 87 villages were partly ethnically cleansed from Serbs, the memorandum said and added that this was mentioned in the U.N. secretary-general's official report.

The U.N. secretary-general's report of May 1993 mentioned the figure of 250,000 expelled Serbs. The memorandum said that up to the present day, the total number of Serbs who had fled Croatia under pressure rose to 350,000.

Serbs who remained in Croatia are being persecuted, their property is being seized, their homes torn down, they are forcibly converted into Catholicism and all their other rights are being violated, the document said. The memorandum said that the most frequent forms of human rights violations of Serbs in Croatia were arrests and molestations and that even Croatian officials confirmed that more than 30,000 criminal proceedings had been instituted against the Serbs.

Bank Official Estimates 'Total Foreign Debt'

AU0105084695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 95 p 6

[Article by Jasna Kesic: "Calculations Still Undone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] How large are the total foreign debts of Yugoslavia? When are they due? Who are the creditors? How was the borrowed money spent? How shall we repay these debts?

Regardless of the abundance of information, the answers to these questions are not known. During the three years of sanctions, the issues of international economy, and particularly of international finances, have been almost completely neglected, except for those that one might call "emergency solutions." Governments and supervisory bodies have, in all that time, not even determined the exact state of accounts of the country, including the exact total sum of foreign debts. However, at the recent symposium titled "Approaching the Reintegration Into the World of Finance and Capital," economic experts busied themselves with this topic. They presented the conclusions they had reached through their research, as well as their proposals as to what should be done while the blockade still lasts in order to get ready to return to the international finance markets immediately after the blockade is lifted.

Uncertain Records

Stressing that the exact sum of Yugo-debts is not known, Aleksandar Kovacevic from the First Yugoslav-Swiss Bank said that the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ] possessed some data, but that they had not been coordinated with the creditors. Besides, they also contain some debts that the NBJ guaranteed and that have still not been distributed among the states created on the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY]. Assessing that this situation calls for a conservative evaluation of debts, he made a draft of the liabilities in the balance of accounts, "which is not complete, but it is the total of the known data."

"The NBJ data from 31 July 1991 show that the total debt of Serbia and Montenegro, due in the middle and short term, amounted to 3.56 billion dollars, and the undistributed debts amounted to 4.72 billion. The distribution of the debts of former Yugoslavia has not been made officially as yet, but actually it has been made. One authorative source reports that the total debt of Serbia and Montenegro at the end of 1992 amounted to $5.3 billion, which means that 36.5 percent of undistributed debts were distributed to those two republics," Kovacevic says. "Since Serbia and Montenegro stopped paying off their debts in the last quarter of 1992, the total mentioned has, in the meantime, increased by the sum of the interest on arrears, which might amount to 26 percent of the total debt, which in that case means that the total sum amounts to $6.68 billion. In that case, the problem is that the conditions for the implementation of

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a particular clause from the last standby arrangement with IMF are met, and accordingly, the creditors can demand that the entire debt, together with the interest, is paid as soon as the sanctions are lifted."

Commercial debts, according to Kovacevic, pose a particular problem, since there are no adequate records. Some of these debts were made outside of customary business practice, and independent of the accounts of domestic banks, so that one can estimate them only on the basis of some secondary indications. Yet one can estimate that the guaranteed, but unpaid liabilities to other countries up to the point of the introduction of sanctions (31 May 1992) amounted to approximate $1.01 billion. That is the mean value of the realized foreign trade gap and the unexplained discrepancy between the drop in imports and the drop in exports in that period.

After the introduction of the sanctions, no guaranteed but unpaid liabilities could be made, but, on the other hand, the interest on arrears and the law expenses have been piling up. This increased the commercial debt by at least 26 percent, so that the guaranteed but unpaid liabilities amount to $1.38 million.

"Foreign currency savings are a disputable item of this arbitrary balance, since it is believed that there is a difference between domestic and foreign credits. However, once the sanctions are lifted, domestic and foreign creditors would have to be matched, and therefore we have to take the obligations towards domestic depositors seriously," Kovacevic said. "The so-called old foreign currency savings together with the interest is estimated at approximately $4 billion, and the debts of various institutions that function according to the principle of 'the chain of fortune' (Dafiment banka, Jugoskandik etc) to at least $200 million."

The Price of Reprogramming

States created on the territory of the former SFRY have already requested the distribution of the common foreign currency reserves to be carried out. Bearing in mind that they amounted to $3.8 billion in July 1991, they could not amount to more than $2.41 billion, but, considering that the reserves decreased as the country disintegrated and bearing in mind that some were at the disposal of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], they could be as little as $710 million.

"Credit capability and transaction capability of banks, which in our country are very small, have a great significance in the reprogramming and payment of debts. Our banks lag behind in bank technology both technically and organizationally, which will further increase our debts by about 8 percent. The time structure of the debt is also extremely unfavorable, since all the stated debts are prompt obligations, and it is estimated that the reprogramming of that debt will cost us another 6 percent of the total amount. Finally, there is also the poor management ability, which will make everything 10 percent more expensive," Kovacevic believes. Our financial management is performed by badly organized institutions, which do not have to report on the state of accounts, we have a very shallow and simplified financial market, an underdeveloped network of financial mediators, little experience in international financial business, and so on.

When all the specified items are added up, the total foreign debt of Yugoslavia amounts to $16.26 billion, or something very close to that.

(In tomorrow's issue: The Real Debt Is Equal to the Social Product)

Chinese Envoy: Beijing Opposes Sanctions

LD3004155695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 30 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Apr 30 (TANJUG)—Chinese Ambassador to Yugoslavia Zhu Ankang Sunday told a local Serbian radio that China highly appreciated Yugoslavia's endeavors for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia and that sanctions and pressures were not the right ways to solve problems.

The ambassador told Radio Kragujevac that China did not and could never agree with forceful measures such as anti-Yugoslav sanctions, because war, sanctions and pressures were the wrong ways of solving problems.

Commenting the latest Security Council resolution which extends the suspension of some anti-Yugoslav sanctions for another 75 days, Zhu said the provisions added to the Resolution 988 did nothing to promote the peace process, and added that compared to Resolutions 943 and 970, Resolution 988 represented a step backwards.

China believes that the international community should recognize Yugoslavia's contribution to the peace process and its consistency and responsibility in the endeavors to establish peace in Bosnia, instead of doing the opposite as with this last decision, the ambassador said.

China hopes that the international community and the involved parties will take consistent steps to find a peaceful settlement to the crisis in former Yugoslavia. This must be done through political means, negotiations and dialogue, as war cannot solve the problems in the region but can only bring great suffering to people, the ambassador concluded.

Serbia

Jovic Comments on Situation, Peace Policy

LD2904152895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 29 Apr 95

["Pool" item]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Jagodina, Serbia, April 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's position that the crisis can be resolved only peacefully, by respecting all sides in the conflict, is winning more followers in the world and countries in favor of lifting the sanctions, said Yugoslav official Borisav Jovic.

The picture of the causes of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia is changing—the burden of guilt no longer rests with Serbia and Yugoslavia alone, the president of the Yugoslav lower house foreign policy committee told Radio Jagodina Saturday.

Yugoslavia has no territorial claims toward any of its former republics and accepts whatever is decided between the Krajina Serbs and Croatia on the one side, and the Serbs, Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the other, said Jovic, also vice-president of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia.

Asked if peace was near, Jovic said the situation was very confusing, as the Muslims still favored war as an option and believed they could create a unitary state by military means.

Jovic said the Muslims were amply aided by the United States because the Bosnian Serbs did not accept the Contact Group plan and proved wrong those who had been alleging that Serbs were the sole culprits for the war there.

The Bosnian Serbs last summer rejected a proposal by the Contact Group on the division of Bosnia, allotting 51 percent of the territories to the Muslim-Croat Federation and 49 percent to the Bosnian Serbs.

Yugoslavia supported the proposal and, condemning the decision of the Bosnian Serbs, cut off all political and economic ties with the Bosnian Serb republic.

Jovic said the Hague-based tribunal for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia was set up to put pressure on the Serbs. 'We have nothing against war criminals being tried, but we will not extradite our own citizens. If our judiciary organs decide someone should be put to trial, it will be done in our courts,' he said.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Critical of Milosevic-Karadzic Relations

BR2804141295 Milan FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA in Italian 3 May 95 pp 58-59

[Interview with Momir Bulatovic, president of the Republic of Montenegro, by Alberto Bobbio; place and date not given: "Bulatovic: A Criminals' Lair? The Sanctions Are to Blame"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bobbio] Mr. President, has loyalty to Belgrade not taken too high a toll on Montenegro?

[Bulatovic] It is not loyalty to Belgrade but the disintegration of Yugoslavia that has taken a high toll on us. The minifederation is not what we would like, but it is what we have: The Serbs and Montenegrins have decided, in a referendum preceded by an absolutely free debate, to remain united. I am ready to accept a different solution adopted in equally democratic terms.

[Bobbio] Serbian President Milosevic decided last year to cut off relations with Karadzic's Bosnian Serbs. Do you consider he was right to do so?

[Bulatovic] Milosevic should not have made the decision on his own. Two years ago, we agreed to having observers on our borders with Croatia and Bosnia. Milosevic did not go along with us at that time. We are pleased that he did so last year. I am afraid that we have no say in the peace process.

[Bobbio] How many of your compatriots have died in battle?

[Bulatovic] We have 146 dead and 4 missing at Dubrovnik and in eastern Herzegovina.

[Bobbio] Are there any Montenegrins fighting at the moment?

[Bulatovic] Some 100 mercenaries, but they are regarded as outlaws. Guerrillas from Montenegro have undoubtedly joined all parties to the war in the past.

[Bobbio] Your country is described as a sanctuary for criminals and wanted persons, where trafficking of all types is rife. The opposition is calling you to open an Interpol office...

[Bulatovic] We used to work with Interpol, but our police force was expelled from Interpol owing to the sanctions. How can I decide to open an Interpol office? The growth in crime is a result of the sanctions. I am aware that there are a lot of criminals coming and going and that it is a problem for you because we are close to Italy, but, once again, the solution is to lift the sanctions.

Kosovo

Commentator: Bakali Likely To Replace Rugova

AU2904202295 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Apr 95

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] The phantom Republic of Kosovo remains on the margins of the West's interest. This is confirmed by the latest European diplomatic tour by Albanian leader Ibrahim Rugova.

The clear stand by British diplomacy that a new Albanian state in Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija] should not even be considered was also confirmed by the foreign affairs ministries of other European countries visited by Rugova recently. Even official Tirana takes the view that

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the demand by Albanian separatists for the recognition of the so-called Republic of Kosovo be checked, and a dialogue started with Belgrade on a degree of autonomy for this southern province.

The deepest crisis so far in Rugova's policy may, according to local analysts, lead to personnel changes in the leadership of the Albanian movement in Kosovo-Metohija. The extent of the crisis in the policy of the Democratic League of Kosovo is also confirmed by a Kosovo journalist, Mehmet Kraja, who recently published a book about the party in Tirana, entitled *Lost Years.*

One of the candidates for new leader is former [Kosovo] Albanian communist leader Mahmut Bakali. He is credited with the fact that while he was the boss there until 1981, Albanians in Kosmet achieved the most rapid political and economic prosperity. During his time, Yugoslavia was spending $1.3 million on Kosovo a day, and the province enjoyed practically all the prerogatives of a state.

Those who tip on Bakali emphasize his good relations with the U.S. Administration and political agreements with illegal [Kosova] Albanian Prime Minister Bukoshi, who is the only one who holds the key to the rich vault of the phantom Republic of Kosovo. This also ensures the important support of Tirana.

Bakali's communist pedigree is not unimportant either for the normalization of Albanian-Serbian relations in an environment in which the left-wing parties are gaining strength in Serbia. The view here is that striving for the unification of all Albanians in the Balkans, Bakali is attracting with his verbal radicalism an increasing number of Albanians who are disappointed with Rugova's political mistakes, and that by doing this, he is fulfilling all the conditions for a return to the political scene in Kosovo-Metohija.

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